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Manchester

COURT AND SOCIETY

FROM

ELIZABETH TO ANNE.

VOL. II.

LONDON
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NEW-STREET SQUARE



CHARLES MONTAGU, FIRST DUKE OF MANCHESTER.

FROM THE ORIGINAL AT KIMBOLTON.

London Hurst & Blackett 1864.

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EDITED FROM THE PAPERS AT KIMBOLTON

BY

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HURST AND BLACKETT, PUBLISHERS,
SUCCESSORS TO HENRY COLBURN,
13 GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1864.

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THOMAS MONTAGU, 10TH DUKE OF MANTON, 1815

Portrait of Thomas Montagu, 10th Duke of Manton, 1815

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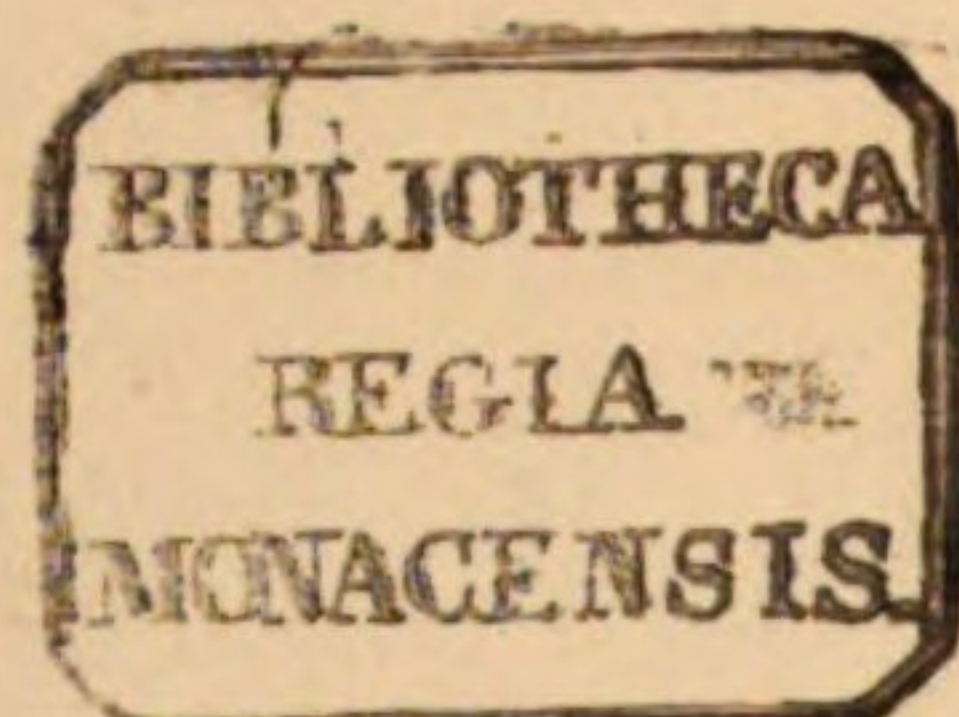
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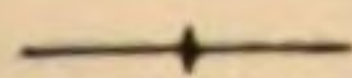
Errata.

P. 27, l. 17,	<i>for</i>	'latter'	<i>read</i>	'former'
„ 82 and 83,	„	'1760'	„	'1700.'
„ 256, l. 33,	„	'conveyed'	„	'convoyed'

COURT AND SOCIETY

FROM

ELIZABETH TO ANNE.



CHAPTER I.

THE STORY OF WALTER MONTAGU.

IN the year 1604, in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, the first of the three wives of Henry Montagu, late member of parliament for Higham Ferrars, but now recorder of and M.P. for the city of London, and recently knighted, at the coronation of James I., bore him a second son who was christened by the name of Walter. By the time this Walter had passed through Sydney College with credit, and had attained his twenty-second year, his father had passed, more creditably still, from the offices above enumerated, and through those of Temple Reader, Serjeant, Lord Chief Justice, and Lord High Treasurer, to the peerage—first as Lord Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville, and finally as Earl of Manchester.

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One year previous to the attainment of this last honour, Walter Montagu was employed by the Duke of Buckingham on secret service, and when the duke mentioned the circumstance, or introduced the negotiator to the king, James is said to have been startled, but

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wherefore, we are not told. In March 1625, as a document in the Record Office informs us, Buckingham was "preparing for France," as "Wat. Montagu brings word that all is forward, and the lady shall be delivered in thirty days," which time was needed, "to get some points of the dispensation qualified at Rome; but, whether or not, the match is to proceed." Walter Montagu was at this time twenty-one years old, and thus the negotiator, whose "special service" was rewarded with 200*l.*, commenced a service to Henrietta Maria, which ended only with his life.

How actively Walter Montagu was engaged in public business from the very first year of the reign of Charles I., we learn from other documents in the Record Office. In a letter from Sir Benjamin Rudyerd to Sir Francis Nethersole, dated from Whitehall, February 3, 1626, amid brief gossip detailing that the king had been crowned on the previous day, but that the queen, instead of participating in the ceremony, "her church not recognising our bishops," stood at a window of Sir Abraham Williams's to see the show;—that her pastoral and mask were deferred till Shrovetide;—and matters of similar import,—amid all this there is notice of a report that Walter Montagu, who had been sent to France the year before, on business connected with the arbitrary seizure of some English vessels, had returned to England, bringing with him a promise of restitution of our ships, and an assurance of a peace being about to be concluded with the Protestants. But the writer much misdoubts that such report is only so much political capital, and manufactured simply as "a preparation for the parliament."

How the young envoy came (he was then no more than twenty-two), or what intelligence he really brought with him, we do not subsequently learn; but we meet with him on the 13th of the same month "kept at Dover for want of a wind." He was there with several other

wind-bound travellers on their way beyond sea, but Sir John Hippisley assures Buckingham that "none shall go before him." Among the travellers alluded to above, there were two who were suspicious, and who were ultimately arrested at Faversham, for attempting to cross the channel clandestinely.

On the 17th, Mr. Montagu was still detained at Dover. Sir Henry Palmer was to have carried him over in his ship, *The John Bonaventuræ*, but the captain writes from the Downs that his ship is leaky, that he has no victual at all on board, and that the weather not only prevented him from getting round to Dover to receive Walter Montagu, but what seemed quite as important, he was unable to reach that port to ship a supply of beer for his crew.

At that period a governor of Dover Castle had no easy life or idle time. His eye was for ever restlessly changing from looking on one stranger to gazing in the face of another temporary sojourner in the town. Mr. Montagu seems to have been as vigilant as the governor, but on the 19th young Walter was away for Calais with Mr. Elphinstone and the "Frenchman," with an intimation that if Sir John did not hear from him by Tuesday, he had better go up to London. One seems to be listening to a comedy of which one has not yet obtained a key towards unravelling the plot. Now and again some unlucky French priest is being tracked, who appears and disappears like the virtuous hero of a melodrama. Sir John is very much troubled to catch one of whom he has been informed by Lord Holland; by that Henry Rich whose peerage was not two years old, and who was himself, some three and twenty years later, tracked by spies, and carried to the block. Sir John naïvely complains that the suspected priest, by his goodwill, will not come near him. It is of no avail that he knows the priest has a flaxen beard inclined to a whitish; Sir John cannot trap a slippery fellow who

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has been known to go even to court under the wing of the French Ambassador. Watch for him at Rochester Bridge! Waylay the ports in Essex! Such are the suggestions to others, whereby to catch a man whom he cannot catch himself. The time also came when Walter Montagu was to be as narrowly looked after in the ports of Kent and Essex as this much-wanted Frenchman himself, and for much the same kind of reason.

Of the nature of the business transacted by Montagu in France, we know nothing. It must have been of some difficulty, for he did not reach Dover again until the middle of September. Landing at the pier, which was about a mile from the posthouse, he ordered Samuel Moore, the deputy postmaster, to provide him with "ten horses to ride to Canterbury." The deputy refused, on the ground of the regulation that all persons who please to ride with horn and guide, as Montagu wished to do, must repair to the posthouse; that is, a gentleman was obliged to go for his own horses, the horses were not to be brought to him. On Montagu's complaint, Moore was brought up before the council in London for this act of insolence to the queen's friend and servant, but Huggesen, the Postmaster of Dover, justified his subordinate; acknowledging indeed that he was in fault, as regarded this special case, but right as regarded the rule established. In the February of the following year, 1626, a warrant was issued for the payment of 200*l.* for the "secret service" on which Walter had been despatched to France, in the year preceding; and as if this had not been considered guerdon rich enough for such a messenger, or perhaps as recompense for new service, not otherwise designated but as "secret," in March 1627, a second warrant conferred on him an additional 400*l.*

In the July of the last-named year, Walter Montagu was afloat again, this time on his way to Flushing. It

was war time, and Captain Sydenham, whose ship of war conveyed the secret envoy to his destined port, was ordered to lose no opportunity of taking or sinking any of the enemy's vessels by the way.

Now, Sydenham's ship was *The Mary Rose*. She remained riding at the Hope, ostensibly to press men for the sea-service. The captain was absent; the other officers had lodgings or houses near the ship, and were flush of money, having just received their pay. "They will keep her there these twelvemonths," thought the gallant Sir Henry Mervyn, who wrote to Nicholas—the king's private secretary—to order Sydenham to see to the despatch of the ship himself. Accordingly from Wanstead there came a command from the king, addressed to Sydenham, "to transport Mr. Walter Montagu, and such as shall go with him, to some convenient port of the United Provinces, and to await further directions of Lord Carleton, the king's ambassador."

Walter fell into the hands of the French, who kept him in free custody. As a solace in his misfortune, perhaps, Walter Montagu's name was inserted this summer—in the same year which saw his father made Lord Privy Seal—in association with that of his elder brother, Edward Viscount Mandeville, in a grant to them of the office of Chief Rangers of the forest of Waybridge, Huntingdon, with a fee of 20*l.* a year. King James had made a similar grant to "Sir Oliver Williams *alias* Cromwell, and Henry Williams *alias* Cromwell," which gentlemen now made surrender of the grant to the Lord President of the Council, on whose nomination the office was transferred to Edward and Walter Montagu. The Cromwells appeared to be at this time sinking fast; they were ceasing to represent the county; they were selling Hinchinbroke; they were yielding their knightly and courtly offices. Yet in twenty years from this very date, they were the first family in

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England. Of Walter Montagu's proceedings during this year, we learn no more than that he was "stayed in France." In April 1628, he was "set free," and was again in England and at court. In an intercepted letter written by one John Hope, and addressed to some anonymous correspondent at Brussels, King Charles is described as speaking of Walter's "exceeding good service;" but, says John Hope, who seems to have been a malcontent at home, "the service can be nothing worth that such a one can bring home."

"Such a one," however, was esteemed very highly by the king, who, in May 1628, was greatly incensed by the return of Lord Denbigh and his fleet from before Rochelle, without striking a blow there to relieve the French Protestants beleaguered by the French Catholics. Montagu was sent down to Plymouth to acquire what information he could about the reason for this miscarriage; and he was accompanied by Lord Feilding and Sir John Coke. The naval commanders-in-chief accused each other of not daring to hazard the fleet. Charles thought that English ships were built, not to be kept safe, but put in peril for the sake of victory in the cause of humanity. He was never seen to have been so moved as at the intelligence brought home to him from La Rochelle. "What if the ships *had* been lost?" was his generous exclamation, "I had timber enough to build more!" There was renewed exertion to maintain the good name of England, and Secretary Coke writes to Buckingham, from Portsmouth, that "Mr. Montagu has descended in his own person to take pains in putting the victuals aboard." In June the young fellow—with no office or title, but engaged in every sort of secret and confidential work—was himself on the seas with the gallant Sir Henry Palmer. He did not, however, accompany the new expedition to Rochelle, to help towards the success of which, on the last Sunday in August, "a communion

was celebrated aboard all the ships of the fleet." That Montagu was as vigilant as he was active may be seen from an incident told by Secretary Coke to Conway. Walter had been dining with the Duke of Buckingham in the town of Portsmouth; and he complained so warmly at table of the dearness and the ill-supply of all necessary provisions in Portsmouth, that the duke was stirred to remedy the grievance; no unimportant step at that time, when his Majesty's sailors were half-starved in their commissariat, and more than half-cheated in their pay.

This was the last good office rendered by Buckingham to the English service. On the third Saturday in August 1628, the duke keeping his bed late, he was called up by Walter Montagu to hear some good news of the relief, however tardy, of Rochelle. M. de Soubise followed Walter into the chamber, and de Soubise was followed by Lieutenant Felton, who then and there, and not in the street as the popular legend describes it, stabbed the duke in the left breast, of which wound he presently died. It was at first thought that some one of the French company had assaulted the duke, but Felton, as merciless to himself as to his victim, at once acknowledged and justified the deed for which he subsequently suffered death.

Later in the year, Walter went abroad to negotiate with Richelieu an exchange of prisoners, and returned home with a statement of wants in the fleet and army, and an account of what was being done or left undone by Lindsey in the fleet before Rochelle. What the king heard from Montagu, Kniphausen, and Carleton we may conjecture from some passages addressed in a letter from Charles to the Earl of Lindsey, in October 1628. In this letter the writer urges the earl not to spare the king's ships when his and the nation's honour was in question. His heart was bent on a brave

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might be illustrated in the words of Southwell:—

The death is eased that worthy hand hath wrought;
Some honour lives in honourable spoil.

Between London and Paris, Walter Montagu passed ever and anon on the king's business connected with the relief of Rochelle, where Lindsey was ill seconded by his captains. Something like a *largesse* was flung to him in the course of this service, in the shape of a grant—shared by his younger brothers, James and George (the latter the ancestor to the Earls of Halifax), and William Walley—of an office for registering Chancery writs, with a fee of fourpence divided among them for each writ.

On one of the occasions above alluded to, Walter Montagu was conveyed from Cowes to Cherbourg by Richard Pratt. The governor of Cherbourg granted Pratt a safe-conduct back, on the mariner's word and Montagu's written assurance that the former would commit no act of hostility by the way. Master Pratt, however, on his way homeward, fell in with *The Phoenix* with a French crew on board, attacked, captured, and carried her to England, where she was adjudged lawful prize. Montagu instantly complained of this breach of faith with the French, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ordered the too zealous mariner of Cowes to answer the charge in their august presence.

There are two sides to every story, and Pratt presented this. He had contracted, he said, with Mr. Montagu's man to convey his master from Cowes to Cherbourg for twenty pounds. When they arrived at the latter port, Mr. Montagu, Pratt alleged, gave him but ten, adding, however, a hint that they might have the good fortune to make twenty pounds a man on their way back. Richard Pratt adopted the suggestion with a readiness natural to a Cowes mariner, and, seven miles

from shore, he encountered The Phoenix—an English ship, of Dartmouth, it is true, but in the possession of Frenchmen—who freely yielded on being vigorously attacked. The loyal and eager Richard Pratt, after setting aside his Majesty's share and those of his company, only got five pounds for himself; and for this little matter he had lain three weeks in the messenger's hands, on Mr. Montagu's complaint, without coming to final examination. He petitioned either to be conclusively heard, or incontinently set free.

Walter Montagu wished no ill to Richard Pratt, but he urged the propriety of compelling the latter to restore the ship in the condition in which she was found, and, on Christmas Eve 1628, Pratt signed a bond of 100*l.* for the redelivery of The Phoenix of Dartmouth to those from whom he had taken her, or to the Captain of Cowes Castle, who was then a far more important person than he is now.

For more than a year Walter Montagu appears to have remained abroad, with brief intervals of return; in March 1631, 1,100*l.* were paid to him "for his Majesty's secret service in France," with an additional 400*l.* "for his charges in his journey." He did not return permanently to England till 1633.

In that, or perhaps in the following year, Walter Montagu appeared as a dramatist, in which line he was less successful than as a negotiator. The comedy or pastoral of which he was the author bore the title of 'The Shepherd's Complaint,' and it was privately represented before King Charles and the Court, by the Queen and her "ladies of honour;"—no male performer had part therein. The royal and noble actresses were, Queen Henrietta Maria, "my Lady Marquess," the Lady Anne Feilding, Mrs. Cecilia Crofts, Sophia and Victoria Carew, Arden, Villiers, Howard, Kirke, Beaumont, Seymour, and "the mother of the maids." This prose pastoral is long, tedious, stilted, and incomprehensible;

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with a finale in which the apparent difficulties in the way of the general happiness are surmounted. At least, the Queen says so, in the character of Belezza, whereupon a graceful "tag" is addressed to her Majesty, in the words:—

May you live long and know not till you're told,
T' endear your beauty's wonder, you are old;
And when heav'n's heat shall draw you to the sky,
May you transfigured, not disfigured, die.

A quarter of a century later, when monarchy was on its feet again, and the gay courtier who had written this piece was a religious recluse, very comfortable in his abbey of Pontoise in France, this comedy was published under the editorship of an individual who revealed himself no further than by the initials T. D. "It is known," says T. D., "these papers have long slept, and are now raised to put on that immortality which nothing had hitherto deprived them of but their concealment." Subsequently he informs his public that the scenes of this play "address themselves to the inspired and more refined part of men—such as are capable to be ravished when they find a fancy bright and high as the Phœbus that gave it." Perhaps those capable persons may be equal to the enjoyment indicated, but Suckling judged more correctly of the merits of the piece and the modesty of its author, in his description of the assembling of the poets to win a laurel crown from the hands of Apollo:—

Wat Montagu now stood forth to his trial,
And did not so much as expect a denial.
But witty Apollo asked him first of all,
If he understood his own pastoral,
For if he could do it, 't would plainly appear
He understood more than any man there,
And did merit the bays above all the rest—
But the Monsieur was modest, and silence confest.

This judgment was rendered long before the play was printed. Wat Montagu and Tom Carew were

sworn friends. The latter was the worshipper of
 Lucinda and Celia, and the writer of the epitaphs on
 Mary Villiers and Maria Wentworth—that on the latter
 containing the famous lines on Maria's soul, indicating
 that it

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grew so fast within,
 It broke the outward shell of sin,
 And hatch'd itself a cherubim !

So wrote King Charles's Gentleman of the Chamber and
 Sewer in Ordinary, turned poet. United with these
 two friends in loving and jovial fraternity were Aure-
 lian Townsend ; Sandys, the traveller and rhymers ; May,
 the Long Parliament historian ; young Will Davenant,
 and a score of good fellows of similar tastes.

After Tom Carew died, in 1639, a change came over
 the once gay Walter Montagu. A feigned or a well-
 founded disgust of court-life took him abroad, where he
 wandered on to Rome, in the alleged hope that he, the
 busy cavalier and poet, the wit, the gallant, the man
 about town, might effect a reconciliation between the two
 churches ! Before he reached the ancient city, the fact of
 his conversion to the Church of Rome was known, and
 his onward journey assumed the appearance of a triumph.
 He was greeted by all that was known to be noble,
 and all that seemed to be holy. Pope and cardinals
 gladdened him with banquets and benedictions ; pre-
 cedence was awarded to him before all others of his
 countrymen, whatever might be their rank, at the Papal
 Court, and when, on his return to London, he was
 appointed Chamberlain to the Queen, the conclusion
 was probably arrived at that, whatever might be the
 nature of the mission entrusted to him, he had accom-
 plished it with perfect success.

There is no doubt that his success was great in
 raising contributions among the Roman Catholics to
 enable the king to expel the Scots. In this he was
 aided by Sir Kenelm Digby ; but missions like these, in

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aid of royalty, ultimately brought him and his colleagues into collision with the House of Commons. Walter was arrested at Rochester, on his return from a negotiation abroad, and suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower, from which he was released in 1647. Two years later, the Parliament, in which his brother, Lord Kimbolton, played so grand a part, holding him and the like of him to be dangerous persons, passed a decree by which he and Sir Kenelm Digby were doomed to perpetual banishment, with confiscation of estate, and with menace of the penalty of death if either of them should dare to revisit England without the authority of Parliament.

The banished men undertook never again to touch English soil, without permission asked. Walter Montagu, leaving his elder brother, Kimbolton, on the popular and winning side, sought refuge, welcome, honour, and—in every sense of the word—new life, in France. The fugitive queen, Henrietta Maria, received the exile with enthusiasm; the Romish Church adopted him as a son, and he acknowledged her as a mother. Walter Montagu became abbot of Pontoise. His latter life was as different from the old as his ‘*Miscellanea Spiritualia*’ was different from the comedy of the ‘*Shepherd’s Complaint*,’ in which Henrietta Maria had flaunted it, and at which Suckling had flung his raillery in verse. The plumed cavalier of Whitehall, the jovial comrade of Carew and his mates, the ever-active and vigilant messenger of two courts, took orders in the Church of Rome, and the erst chamberlain of the queen thereon became her almoner. Ill-natured people remark, that “he was said to have been her gallant.” Each man spoke of him and his acts according to the glass, of judgment or of prejudice, through which he saw. Carte could hardly speak ill enough either of his temper, his objects, or his principles. Others describe him as

a being totally given up to heaven and heavenly things; grave, earnest, pious, studious, humble, unambitious, and content. The queen placed the little Duke of Gloucester under his care and training, and forthwith that most religious and gracious king, as yet without a crown—Charles II.—became much troubled as to his younger brother's orthodoxy. The French monarch closed the Protestant chapel which had been opened for the use of the English (Protestant) servants of the fugitive royal family in the Louvre, and this act was ascribed to the spiritual pride and fiery zeal of Walter Montagu. "On my way from Rouen," writes Ormond, in 1659, "I saw Abbé Montagu, at his very fine abbey. I would my secretary had such another."

Ormond and Walter Montagu had met five years previously, when the former had been despatched to rescue the young Duke of Gloucester from the influences of such a tutor as the Abbot of Pontoise. Under those influences the queen mother had placed him, in order that he might be brought by persuasion or compulsion into the Church of Rome. This course was a direct infringement of a solemn promise which she had made to her eldest son, that in matters of religion she would not interfere with the early training of the Duke of Gloucester in the tenets of the Established Church. Walter Montagu, doubtless, held himself unbound by such an agreement, and he is said to have used, when other arguments failed, the lure of the crown of England as the recompense of his illustrious pupil's conversion. But the boy had not been unwisely trained even by his eldest brother; and it was in obedience to instructions received from Charles that the persecuted little prince stoutly resisted all arguments by an obstinate silence, as he patiently endured worse treatment when harsher means were resorted to. Amid the blandishments of the earlier and persuasive course, he

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did not forget the words of his brother, that while he persevered in his own faith he would be made much of, but that, once a convert, he would be treated with contempt. Amid the harsher treatment, when under the ex-queen's care, the poor and scanty food, the bed, made the nurse of unrest, the scorn of lacqueys taught to fling their scorn, the duke kept in mind the counsel of his dying father, and would not budge an inch towards the goal whither they sought to drive him. It was then that he was sent to the Abbot of Pontoise, who, unable to succeed with him, advised his being transferred to the College of Jesuits. It was from that fate that Ormond, with much trouble, ultimately rescued him, and the stanch little duke was stedfast in the faith till the fatal night of 1660, when he died of small-pox, through the great negligence of his doctors, and his body, brought down Somerset House stairs, went up the river by torchlight to be buried at Westminster.

At this time, Ormond was interested in more than one person in France, a young lady as well as a young duke:—the former not unconnected with the family of Montagu. The lady in question was Lady Isabella Rich. When Ormond was courting the daughter of the Earl of Desmond, Isabella Rich was her friend and companion. In her attractions Ormond forgot for awhile those of his future bride; but no one had such good cause to regret or even to curse them as Isabella Rich herself, whose love-passages with the suitor of her friend rendered it necessary for her to withdraw for a time to France. The affair, however, was so discreetly handled, that Ormond's wife enjoyed a happy ignorance, and the intimacy of the two ladies remained unbroken through many years. Letters referring to the intimacy of Ormond and Lady Isabella Rich have been recently discovered, it is said, at Kilkenny, and in these, it is added, "poor Belle" is mentioned, compassionately. *Their* story it will be for other pens to tell; meanwhile, we

find Walter Montagu close in attendance upon Henrietta Maria, keeping her conscience, administering her alms, and receiving the homage of other seceders from the Church of England. Perhaps the most accepted tribute of this nature was the one paid to him by the ex-bishop of Bangor, who dedicated to him a well-known work, printed at Douay, in 1654, and which was entitled, 'The End to Controversy between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Religions.' *That* end, however, remains as remote as ever.

Abbot Montagu had promised never to return to England without permission from the legal authorities. This he appears to have applied for through his brother Edward, the Lord Kimbolton and Mandeville of the first Charles's days, but now the second Earl of Manchester. The following letter is without date, but was written, manifestly, in the days of the commonwealth, and apparently previous to the time when the abbot had resolved to reside in France permanently:—

ABBOT MONTAGU TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

"MY LORD,—I have been advertised this week by Mr. Birch that he had sent me a letter from you the week before, which having miscarried by my being absent from hence, I now give you thanks for your care in it to answer to my desire concerning my permission to come over for some few days to despatch my private business. He writes me word that there is difficulty in this desire. I shall expect then, according to your directions and council, a better conjuncture, and desire you that you would grant the pass I have so long solicited for some few goods I have specified to Mr. Birch to be sent to me. In this I can conceive no difficulty, having been long promised. Therefore I pray, my Lord, afford me a little of your credit at granting this small request. I have desired you to pay the 100*l.* for my bed to Mr. de Vos upon his receipt by my last

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letter, and must earnestly desire you that I may have the half-year's rent of what my father hath left me, at our Lady day, when I conceive it is due. I am going back to live as quietly as I can in France, where I hope to hear from your Lordship, resting your Lordship's humble servant and most affectionate brother,

“W. MONTAGU.

“Hogo : 16th February.”

The next letter, also addressed to the Earl of Manchester, is from Pontoise, but is without other date than “Pontoise, the 12th of April.”

ABBOT MONTAGU TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

“MY LORD,—I have received yours, wherein you did me the favour to advise me to desist in my purpose of coming to England; you may see, by what hath followed since, I had little provision of what hath happened since, otherwise I should not have proposed it; and it may discredit to you the opinion that I hear is current of my being priest. I should not so soon have thought to be rid of such an honour, if I had had it, as my coming into England must have endangered my business that required it. It was the sale of my house and the discharge of some debts which you are engaged in; I doubt not but the Sherriff Garrett will make his own law at Guildhall against me, if you appear not concerned in it. For his book debt I do not acknowledge; I say, the most part of it was comprised in the bond which I desire to pay, but if he should demand interest upon it, since the time it was due, it would double the principal, therefore I pray, my Lord, bring him to reason in that; and there is 500*l.* seized, out of which to pay him and my Lady Wild. For the barber, Geordist's (?) brother, the debt is to me. I am sure I owed his brother not 30*l.* in the world. Therefore I pray, my Lord, have a care of this. Give

me leave to offer you my prayers, resting your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

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“W. MONTAGU.”

And here a letter of Robert Sydney, second Earl of Leicester, addressed to Lord Mandeville, subsequently second Earl of Manchester, in February 1640–1 may be quoted, for the sake at least of one paragraph in reference to Walter Montagu, Lord Mandeville's brother. The paragraph runs thus:—

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

“I should be glad to help your brother to a cardinal's hat, for I wish him very well anywhere but in England, and there too, if he were our brother as well as yours; but I have no power in the Consistory, all those of that dependance shun me like the plague; and if they of the other side think ill of me too, I have ill luck, but I do not care, for in despite of the world, I will, with God's blessing, live and die an honest man, and your Lordship's brother and humble servant,

“LEICESTER.”

The brotherhood here alluded to was simply one by courtesy. Lord Mandeville's wife, the second of five, was a daughter of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, and Leicester's wife was Dorothy, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, whose wife was the sister of Penelope Rich, Countess of Warwick. The Earl of Leicester, who would have procured a cardinal's hat for Walter Montagu had he only possessed sufficient influence, was the father of Algernon Sydney, and of the handsome Henry, who was beloved by the Duchess of York, and was created Earl of Romney by King William.

To return to Walter Montagu, we have to observe that the opportunity of visiting England which he sought when it was difficult to obtain, he is said to have

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declined when the facilities were greater. This, however, was not the case, as the following simple and touching letter from the younger to the elder brother will satisfactorily show. It is dated "23 October 1660," but no place is named; and it is superscribed "For my Lord of Manchester."

ABBOT MONTAGU TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

"MY LORD,—The Cardinal's gentleman is returned fully satisfied with your civilities; and very shortly, I hope in God, to partake of them myself. Being obliged by my place in the Queen's family to attend her, though my stay will be very little, yet I confess my great satisfaction in seeing once again my friends, and especially you, whom I love with all the tenderness of nature, and duty of consideration of all your goodness and kindness to me; and since it is incumbent to my duty to the Queen, I presume my appearance in my own profession cannot be offensive; I presume by your desire of it that it cannot be unreasonable, so that my contentment in this opportunity of seeing you is very great, which I hope shortly to express to you myself; and, truly, you may be assured that the Queen hath a most right understanding of your merit to her, and a great desire to make you all the returns in her power, whereof my Lord of St. Albans and I will be caution; remaining, my Lord, your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

"W. MONTAGU."

There are no details of this visit of Walter Montagu to his brother Edward; it was probably not fruitless either in personal or political results; for we know that when Charles II. stood in need of the aid of France, Ormond sought the mediation of the Abbot of Pontoise with Louis XIV. The Abbot expressed his readiness to serve the King of England whenever the king himself should require it at his hands. Nothing further came of it. Later, the queen-mother would

have carried him to England with her on her coming over to visit her son, but Montagu then declined to accompany her. He had no desire, according to Madame de Motteville, to make his fortune in England. His attachment, so that lady asserts, was in France, to Anne of Austria, and, she adds, "to say the truth of him, his true piety made him in all things and in all countries very disinterested."

Towards Kimbolton then, or even towards England, he does not seem to have again directed his steps, but he was not without English companions in his self-imposed exile. John Digby, a younger son of the Earl of Bristol, and General of the Horse, under Hopetown, was with him at Pontoise. The cavalier had lived obscurely in England, after the fall of the king, and still more obscurely in France, but he made his way to Pontoise, and there found a resting-place in his weary pilgrimage. The ex-cavalry leader there laid down his old faith, and the cavaliers of his time who travelled to Paris by way of Pontoise were edified or otherwise affected, on beholding the once fiery leader in a charge of horse, gravely celebrating mass in the chapel of the English nuns.

If a tranquil life be a happy life, Walter Montagu found happiness at Pontoise. Little more is known of him till 1672. In that year he published his translation of Bossuet's 'Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church in the Points of Controversy with those of the pretended Reformation.' The book, printed abroad, was introduced into England. In the preface, he praises the author, his work, and his object; and after expressing a hope that Englishmen may profit by it, he adds:—"By this motive I have been persuaded to pass into my country this foreign commodity, which like a delicate wine of the same place, may lose somewhat of the natural spirit and quickness by the transport; yet I may presume that it retaineth all those

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healthful and cordial qualities it had in the native produce. And, having heretofore presented my country, in their several seasons, spring flowers and others, summer fruits, as the Perfumes of Poetry and the Reflections of Morality, now, in this winter of my age, I transport to my nation this riper and more wholesome fruit, the feeding whereon, contrary to the effect denounced against the forbidden fruit, may produce life everlasting." All abbot, priest, royal almoner as he was, he could not forget his cavalier days, when he wrote his 'Shepherd's Complaint,' and queens and maids of honour wore his "spring flowers" on the stage at Whitehall.

It is said that Mazarin was indebted to Walter Montagu in a great degree for being promoted to the favour and service of Anne of Austria, and that the cardinal repaid the service with vast ingratitude. Anthony Wood contrasts the two men, by remarking that, "whereas Mazarin made it his chief business to make a fortune and raise a family, Montagu, who was of a most generous and noble nature, and a person of great piety, did act to the contrary by spending all he could obtain to public and pious uses."

Five years after the publication of Bossuet's controversial work in its translated form, the good Abbot Montagu of Pontoise died, in 1677, in the seventy-third year of his age. Some accounts state that he was buried in the Chapel of the Hospital of Incurables in Paris, but the manuscript book belonging to Mr. George Montagu records that he died indeed at Paris, but that he was buried at Pontoise. The laudatory epitaph over his remains, commencing with the "Hic jacet Dominus Gualterius de Montagu," after registering his many virtues, terminates by the rather quaint than elegant remark that "of this monastery he was the parent and ruler, and no wonder, therefore, is it that *his* bowels are preserved here in whose bowels this House grew and flourished."

CHAPTER II.

DEAD AND LIVING AMBASSADORS.

THIS volume might be called a Book of Embassies, for it will contain much of the experiences of the fourth Earl of Manchester, as representative of England at various foreign courts, and of other negotiators at Paris, Venice, and Vienna. The work was often very hard, the wages were always very small. When an English ambassador in those days took his pay, he might have remarked with the peasant clown in Shakespeare—"Remuneration, is Latin for three farthings!"

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It would appear that English ambassadors were the natural guardians of English travelling youth. Sir Isaac Wake, at Turin, is described as being "in place of a father to Lord Doncaster," son of James Earl of Carlisle. According as Wake directed, Lord Doncaster travelled to Alessandria, Genoa, or Florence; with Lord Craven as a companion, the latter lord having received "licence from Mr. Boswell to travel for two years."

Then we meet with Mary, Countess of Westmoreland, who has fears for her son Francis. She is not afraid that he will run into flagrant vices, but the good mother thinks he will idle away his time; and Sir Isaac Wake is expected to look after him.

In 1632, Wake died at his post in France, and Captain Plumleigh was despatched from the Downs to Calais Roads, in The Tenth Whelp, to "stand over for the corpse." Plumleigh remained in the Roads from the 27th of June to the 12th of July, and then he wrote home, stating that he could hear nothing of the dead

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ambassador, that he had only six days' provision left, and that he could wait but a few days longer.

After some delay, the body of Sir Isaac arrived at the coast, and was put on board, not *The Tenth Whelp*, but *The Assurance*, under the command of Plumleigh. Then arose one of those difficulties which often sprang from the claim made by England to have her flag saluted on the seas which she called her own.

Wake's body was received on board *The Assurance*, near Boulogne, on the 5th of July. On the 6th the funeral passed through Calais Roads. The governor of the town, "pretending a great desire to do the body honour," caused all the French vessels in the Roads to take in their colours. This proceeding was much objected to by the French commanders; but in acknowledgment of the courtesy, Plumleigh "bestowed some powder on the French flags," at which return to their courtesy, the French captains "grumbled extremely." They probably would have preferred that the striking of their flag should pass unremarked, as if it had not occurred.

It was otherwise with some Dutch men-of-war. *Their* commanders not only shared the sentiments of the French, but "sent word that they knew nothing why we should demand any superiority on that side of the sea; withal threatening to wear their flags there, as well as we." Plumleigh's pride and passion were immediately aroused. Although there were eight of these men-of-war, he "sent a cooling card" to the Dutch Admiral, and informed him of his, Plumleigh's, "resolution," in case he (the Dutch Admiral) showed a Dutch flag there (that is, did not first salute the English ship in passing), he would sink him, or sink by him." This spirited intimation "caused him to keep his colours close;" or, in other words, the admiral lowered his flag while the dead ambassador floated by.

In the reign of Charles II., another flag affair excited

universal remark. The king had sent the Earl of Essex (Capel) to Denmark, as ambassador. The ship which conveyed him passed the Fort of Kronenburg, the governor of which had his sovereign's order to compel all foreign ships to salute the Danish flag, before the latter noticed them. The governor, as Lord Essex stood near, despatched a message to him, intimating that he must strike colours as he passed the fort, or else he would do well to keep out of his reach, or to sail by in the night; otherwise, he should have to call my lord's attention, first by powder only, and next by shot."

Essex proudly replied that the kings of England were accustomed to make others strike to them, and not to strike to others; that he would neither keep out of his reach, nor steal by in the dark; and that, if fired at, he would defend himself. And so, colours flying, Capel sailed by the fort. Then, indeed, the governor did send a shot, far over Essex's head, out to sea; but the ambassador, refusing to believe his life was aimed at or his king's honour insulted, took no further notice of it but as a salute; and as he sailed along, looked into the books on Danish matters which Cotton had lent him out of his library; and thence was enabled to prove to the Danish Court, that by special treaty we were exempted from striking our flag in the Danish seas.

Indomitable was the old English pride which asserted the sovereignty of this country within the narrow seas, and demanded that all nations should do homage to the red cross of St. George. One of the most remarkable instances presents itself in the case of the French Ambassador Rosny (better known to English readers as the Duc de Sully), despatched by Henri Quatre to James I. At six o'clock of a June morning, in the year 1603, the French Envoy sailed from Calais on board an English flag-ship, and crossed the straits escorted by a second English ship, half a

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dozen Dutch galleys, and as many French men-of-war, under the gallant and saucy Vice-Admiral of France, Dominique de Vic. During the eight hours occupied in crossing little more than a score of miles of that liquid way on a summer's day, Dominique kept his flag flying, never once dipping it, as by courtesy, custom, and the English sovereignty over the road he was going, he was bound to do. The flag-captain who carried Rosny as his guest was much vexed at this lack of politeness on the part of the Frenchman, but the vexation changed to wrath, when he saw De Vic sailing into Dover Roads ahead of him, with that flaunting French banner still gaily flying, undipped, aloft.

Presently De Vic, having landed such of the noble company as had sailed with him, passed the English flag-ship, and saluted the ambassador, who stood on the quarter-deck, with ordnance and by a display of the royal banner at the main. At this act the ebullition of the Englishman rose to its height. He ran out his fifty guns menacingly at De Vic, and fired one at least of them at the French Admiral; whether shotted or not, cannot now be determined; but the uproar was so great that Rosny, who had been previously charmed with the courtesy of the Englishmen with whom he sailed, was now astonished at their fury, and had the greatest trouble in making himself heard, when endeavouring to explain that De Vic had been intending solely to do him honour, that the admiral meant no offence to the English, and that he, the ambassador, would give a signal at which the French banner would be lowered as an act of courtesy to the English flag floating over its own waters, in the narrow seas.

The English sailor was appeased, but Cecil found it expedient to write to Sir Thomas Parry, the representative of the sovereign of England, at Paris, touching what he called "the small accident fallen out in Dover Roads." After narrating the incidents of the long

voyage over the brief way, Cecil says, writing on June 10, 1604, that by discharge of cannon the English captain compelled the admiral "to strike his flag, which made M. de Vic return home a little discontentedly. This," adds Cecil, "is the truth of the matter, although it be not worth speaking of, yet if it be looked into, *we shall have reason to stand upon it.*"

No doubt was expressed as to the propriety of the act on the part of the captain who stood up and struck hard for the dignity of his country and sovereign as that of both was then to be maintained. Cecil would "stand upon it," and uphold the deed and the doer.

Had the fourth Earl of Manchester required it, he had numerous examples of how the old English character and old English privileges were to be maintained; and we shall find him doing both with dignity. Before we come to this, however, we have a few words to say of his father, Robert, the third earl, of whom there are but few illustrations among the Kimbolton papers.

Robert, third Earl of Manchester, who had for his mother Anne, the daughter of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, succeeded his father, to whom Burnet allows, if not great parts, at least great virtue and generosity, in 1671. The details of his marriage, when Lord Mandeville, with Anne Yelverton have been already given. Earl Robert was not so distinguished in himself, as in his third, but eldest surviving, son Charles, the first Duke of Manchester. Although holding no higher office than one of the lords of the king's bedchamber, with an annuity of 1,000*l.*, he was sufficiently influential to cause his kinsmen to petition for his favour. One of these, writing from London, in October 1672, to the earl, then at Kimbolton, unconsciously illustrates two phases of character, one of himself, the other of the times. "I have writ two letters to your Lordship," says "Charles

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Montagu," "but have received no answer, so that I am afraid they never came to your hands, but I hope this may, because our ship is all in a readiness, and I am sure it will not be long before we are ordered out, therefore I would desire your Lordship that you would return the money, as soon as possibly your Lordship can, and I would beg the favour of you to write to Mr. Worden, that my voyage to Gottenberg may be stopped, for it is a very base voyage, and I go under a man's command who will let nobody get anything but himself; besides, if he was never so kind, there is little to be got, so that I hope your Lordship will use your interest to divert this voyage, and get me leave to cruise in the Channel, where I am every day in the way of getting somewhat, for now that our ship is clean, I doubt not but I shall meet with some purchase. Pray, my Lord, do your endeavours as soon as you can, for I know if your Lordship stirs in it quickly, you may hinder it, and it may be to my advantage, and ever engage me to be your Lordship's obedient servant."

The earl, to whom the above singular missive was despatched, died at Montpellier in France, in the year 1682. He was succeeded by a son whose distinction was much more brilliantly marked, and whose papers afford much matter for the gossip and the historian. Charles, the fourth earl, and first Duke of Manchester, was summoned by writ of James the Second to take his seat in the House of Peers, in the first year of that monarch's reign. The course adopted by that monarch, however, speedily placed the earl in opposition so active that he was among the first to prepare the way for the coming of the Prince of Orange; to secure the county of Huntingdon in his interest; and to render his accession easy, by voting the throne vacant. The earl was with king William at the battle of the Boyne, and

represented him in brilliant embassies at Venice, and at Paris, as he subsequently represented Queen Anne at Vienna, and again at Venice. During the latter years of the queen's reign he lived in retirement, ill-pleased with the policy which appeared most acceptable at court. In 1719, he was raised, by George I. to the dignity of a Duke. His lordship repaired, almost rebuilt, Kimbolton Castle, and supported all his embassies with liberality and independence. At Venice, we are told in Mr. George Montagu's book, "he asserted the English honour by demanding and vigorously insisting on satisfaction for the indignity offered to his character in the persons of his domestics." It is unnecessary to speak further here of one whose abilities are fully illustrated in the following pages. We will only add that his two sons succeeded in turn to the ducal title. The wife of the latter of these was the daughter of that Duchess of Montagu who was daughter of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough. This last duchess once remarked: "Duchess of Manchester, you are a good creature and I love you, but *you have a mother!*" "Aye!" was the spirited reply which quieted Sarah, "and *she* has a mother!" It was to this Duchess of Manchester that Richard Lumley, Earl of Scarborough, in his devoted gallantry, entrusted a state-secret, which believing her to have divulged, he was so shocked that he committed suicide.

The purport of Lord Manchester's mission to Venice, in 1697 and the following year, was twofold. The Signory there, and by its captains, elsewhere, had been inflicting a considerable amount of wrong upon English subjects. The latter consisted, for the most part, of sailors who had been induced to pass from English merchant ships into the Venetian navy, on service, the duration of which was limited, but the expiration of which was permanently deferred, so long as the men were profitable to their employers. Occasionally, our sailors demanded

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their release, or discharged themselves, but in the former case, the men were silenced by being condemned to the galleys, and in the latter, harsher treatment still followed their recapture. A cry came from the sufferers in the Lagoons to the statesman at Whitehall, and the earl was despatched to obtain redress for them, in the shape of satisfaction and liberty. A lesser purport of the mission was to persuade the Venetian authorities to materially reduce the duty on salt fish exported from England.

The newspapers at the close of 1696 gave note of preparation, and spoke admiringly of the "state" which was to give dignity to William's representative in Venice. A letter from the Earl of Manchester to the Duke of Shrewsbury, dated as below, announces the arrival of the ambassador in Venice, the view which he took of things generally, and his opinion on a small matter of intrigue to which even Venetian nobles could stoop, in the way of business.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

"VENICE: Jan. 4.

"MY LORD,—I have notified my arrival to the republic, which they returned with a compliment, and shall now settle the manner of my reception, designing as soon as I can to have my first audience. I cannot but think they are desirous of showing some proof of the great honour they have for the King, at least it is said so; I wish I may find them ready in agreeing to such things I shall desire in relation to our trade, which our merchants are of opinion will be also for their good as well as our own. The Senate have lately made a severe decree under pain of fine and banishment in case any of the nobles shall solicit one another for votes in the choice of any employment whatsoever, it being come to that degree that several of no sort of merit was preferred by that means, which in time

might prove fatal to their government. I must beg your Grace will pardon this, since I am sensible how little I have from hence to send worth taking notice of, and believe that I am, with all respect, &c., “M.”

The reception of an ordinary ambassador would have been a matter of difficulty for none of the masters of the ceremonies at this very punctilious court. It was otherwise with an extra-ordinary envoy. The officials seemed puzzled in deciding whether the latter was to be made more or less of than a resident ambassador. Accordingly the earl writes:—

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

“VENICE: Jan. 10.

“MY LORD,—I cannot yet acquaint your Grace that I have made much progress with the College about the manner of my reception, though it will not be long now. I find they propose to do all the honour that is possible or ever hath been done to any king; but the way they transact here is slow, it being first to be moved to the Doge and College, and afterwards, before they can give any answer, it must be debated in the Pregadi, how trivial soever the matter is. I understand underhand that, though they intend to offer to treat me three days where I desire, yet they would be glad I would refuse it, as Lord Faulconbridge did when he was here: the reason is partly the expense, and also not knowing well the method, it having been so long since any Ambassador extraordinary was here seen—for none be sent from other parts but England but to reside, and in that case they have not that character. I think to follow the precedent of Lord Faulconbridge, and save my right, so that it will not be any prejudice to the character the king hath honoured me with, and make it as an obligation I do to them, which will be also much easier to me, which I should not consider if it

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was a point essential. I am informed that they intend to name me for resident in England, which, when I have my audience, I shall know the certainty of; if so, I cannot tell whether his Majesty will not have me also here, at least for a little time it may be serviceable and convenient for our commerce. I take the liberty to mention to your Grace that Mr. Stanyan, secretary of the embassy, who will be accustomed to their methods and ways, might be proper and useful. I submit this, as in all other things, to what your Grace shall think best, being with all respect imaginable."

In the subjoined epistle—it is a note rather than a despatch—we obtain details more picturesque respecting ambassadorial life at Venice at the close of the seventeenth century. External forms were then accounted sacred things; and when a new diplomatic comer had to be welcomed, although there was a parade of politeness and a stateliness of compliment, each foreign minister watched his colleague, lest he should be caught bowing lower than his ambassadorial brother, and thereby damage the credit of the crown of the potentate by the too humble salute of his representative. Here, between the needy legate from France and the cautious envoy from Spain, the English earl seems to stand very much like Chavigni between Moreno and Saldorf, in Scribe's comedie-vaudeville of the 'Diplomate.'

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

"VENICE: Jan. 17, 1697.

"MY LORD,—The last I gave your Grace the trouble was of the 10th of Jan. from this place, and this is only that I might not be thought wanting and negligent, though I have little to acquaint you. The French ambassador hath acted very civilly, and hath now been to make me a private visit, which I intend in the same manner to return. He is Mr. De la Hay, who was

formerly at Constantinople with his father that was ambassador, and afterwards he had the same character. He lives here very private, and is esteemed a man of good parts, though having married a Venetian of mean condition, and formerly his mistress, hath much lessened it. I believe his allowance from France must be very small, else he would not be suffered to make so little a figure as he doth. I have just now received a compliment from the Spanish with a desire to wait on me. I believe he was willing to see the steps the French made; he having been here these thirteen years. I have met with some disappointments in relation to my gondolas, which I make new: by the orders I had given I did imagine they would have been done before I came hither, but I have found the contrary. I shall make my entry as soon as I can possible. I understand from Mr. Yard your Grace hath received mine from Hamburgh, and that you are now in the country, where I hope you will find that effect which is desired by all that hath the honour to know you, and especially by him who is, &c. “M.”

Under the pretext of rendering all possible honour to the representative of King William, the very aristocratic Venetian government did not disdain to make a little profit out of him, if possible. The question of his entry was a nice one, and the authorities hoped to make the hero of that public, and then indispensable, spectacle contribute not merely to the dignity of his own country but to the coffers of theirs. In these days ambassadors proceed to and from their posts like men of business, but of old an envoy could not settle a question of infringement and of a duty on salt-fish without making his first steps in solemn state. This, indeed, was as much the case at home as on the continent. There was a relish everywhere for public spectacles, let the purpose be what it might; and at that very time a Knight of the

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Garter could not be made in England, creditably, without a procession of the chevalier elect and all his supporters, from London to Windsor, which set all the balladmongers in prosperity for a month, and gave subject of talk to all who beheld the sight for a lifetime.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

“VENICE: Jan. 24.

“MY LORD,—I did intend to have given your Grace an account that next Tuesday was the day agreed between me and the College to make my entry; but just now I received a compliment from Mr. Venier, who is appointed to receive me, that it would be a great favour if I would defer it for some days longer. I could make no other answer to him but that, having fixed the day with the College, I could not alter it unless they did let me understand from them it was their desire. He is one of them, and I suppose I shall be obliged to put it off. It is not to be imagined, the little policies they have here for the benefit of their town, I having been delayed in all my preparations as much as is possible with several messages underhand, how it would be more for my honour if I would defer it till Lent, only in hopes of keeping all the strangers here some time longer. They have been under some fear lest I should not refuse their offer of being lodged and treated as formerly usual, and would have had me declare my intention before as Lord Faulconbridge did, but I thought it time enough to let them know my mind after they had made the offer. Accordingly they proceeded only on the account that I was not willing to put them to so much expense, the republic having been long engaged in a war, which not a little obliged them. The Spanish ambassador, who is the Duke de Moles, a Neapolitan, hath been to make me a visit which I have also returned. He is not in the least of the humour of

a Spaniard, but hath done all the obliging things that was possible. I understand this republic did not know well how to act in relation to the King of Poland; but I believe the difficulty will be soon over, by reason the Pope hath now owned him, and a nuntio is named to that purpose to go to Poland. General S—— is come from the Morea, and is disgusted, so hath asked his leave to quit their service. It is uncertain whether it will be granted, by reason the Venetians will find it difficult to have another of such experience by the next campaign. I fear I shall be too troublesome, and so only assure you that I am, with all respect, your Lordship's
“M.”

The Duke of St. Albans, mentioned in the next letter, was the son of Charles II. and Nell Gwynn; and subsequently the lucky husband of Diana Vere, daughter of the twentieth and last Earl of Oxford of the De Vere family. When the following letter was written, the duke was twenty-seven years of age, and Nell's son had achieved a high reputation. At the age of eighteen he took share in the famous assault on Belgrade, winning by his youthful valour the praise of veterans. Since then he had fought as ardently and well by the side of the calmer but not braver William of Orange, of whom he was a warm supporter from the first; and who, in return, loaded him with honours which the gallant recipient never tarnished.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

“VENICE: Jan. 31.

“MY LORD,—The weather hath continued so bad, that I was obliged to put off my entry as last Tuesday, being to be received out of Venice at an island, whenever there is great winds there is no going, but I hope there is nothing will prevent it next Monday. I shall soon see what the Republic in relation to our

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merchants will do ; the news of the last post that the king was sending a squadron of nineteen men of war into the Mediterranean will have very good effect all over Italy as well as this place, and it is what will make his Majesty have justice done him whenever it is demanded. I understand the Duke of St. Albans is gone to make a compliment upon the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy ; I cannot tell if his Majesty had thoughts of doing the same to the Duke of Savoy ; if so, at my return I might have that honour with less expense than sending one from England ; therefore, your Grace, I shall submit myself wholly to what you shall think most proper and convenient."

The Duke of St. Albans performed his mission with a grace and splendour which exacted the admiration of the court of France, under the shadow of which was residing the exiled uncle of the duke, James II. But we must turn from the Whig son of Nelly, who lived to receive honours from George II., to Lord Manchester, who thus writes:—

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

" VENICE : Feb. 7, 1697.

" MY LORD, — My last of the 31st Jan., I acquainted your Grace that by reason of the ill weather, my entry was put off till Monday 3rd this style, which day I was received at St. Spirito by Mr. Venier, accompanied by about fifty senators. The next I was to have my audience, but so much rain fell that it was deferred till Wednesday, when I went in the like manner ; I have sent your Grace the compliment I made them, and also their answer, which I was at the College to receive this day ; my first audience the Doge answered me in general terms with great respect to the king, and I believe they are very desirous to have his Majesty's friendship. The manner of my re-

ception Mr. Stanyan will send an account of. I shall now soon lay before them those matters relating to our trade ; and also, what I have further in my instructions, which I shall trouble your Grace with as I proceed.”

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Promises formed all, save acts of politeness, that could be exacted from the slow-going Doge and the College, which body would rather suffer disadvantage to the Republic than an infraction of routine. The next letter announces the close of a mission which cost so much and effected so little, save sustaining the dignity of England in the person of her ambassador.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

“ VENICE : March 2.

“ MY LORD,—I had the honour of your Grace’s the 12th Feb., where I understand his Majesty has no thoughts of sending to the Duke of Savoy ; I have now taken my leave, and nothing hinders me from beginning my journey but the indisposition of my brother, tho’ I hope it will not be long. I send your Grace a copy of my speech, and also their answer, which is full of expressions for his Majesty, and I believe they are real ; but anything that is desired, though for their own advantage, that is not agreeable to their old customs, always met with great opposition, which at my return I can better inform your Grace. I believe this embassy will have that good effect as to make them use the king’s subjects better than they have done, and as further applications are made, those matters relating to our trade may possibly be obtained ; the way being here to act so cautiously as never to come soon to any resolution ; which may prove sometimes very prejudicial to their state. I am glad your Grace’s health will permit you to come to town. I am, with all respect,

“ M.”

Lord Manchester’s brother, Heneage, who was

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master of the jewel office, and an attaché to the mission to Venice, died in that city. Soon after that event occurred, the earl directed his steps homeward, and the next two letters are graphic notes, made by the way.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

“LYONS: May 4, N. S.

“MY LORD,—The concern I was under by the death of my brother was the reason I did not acquaint your Grace myself of my leaving Venice. I am now come so far on my way as Lyons, having made no stay either at Milan or Turin, and have had but an ill journey by the great snows that was on the Alps; to-morrow I leave this place for Paris, and then soon shall think of coming to England, when I shall always acknowledge your Grace’s kindnesses and favours to me.

“I find in all these parts a discourse of a new war, the King of Spain not being likely to live long; the Duke of Savoy is encouraging his forces, by adding ten men to every company, and a company also to every regiment, so that then he will have about 12,000 men. Several regiments pass here, and it is said they are to encamp soon on the river between Chambery and Valence; the Prince of Vaudemont was gone for Avignon before I came from thence; he intends for Monaco by land. The last letter says your Grace was at Newmarket with his Majesty; I wish the air may contribute to your health. I am, my Lord, yours,

“M.”

LORD MANCHESTER TO MR. YARD,

“PARIS: May 3, 1698, O. S.

“TO MR. YARD,—I am at last come to Paris where I intend to stay only so long as that I may have a yacht ready at Calais, which I desire the favour you will acquaint his Majesty, and that you will be pleased to get it ordered. I should be glad if it is convenient to

have The Mary which carried me into Holland. I have acquainted his Grace also, but least he should not be in town I am forced to give you this trouble. Our journey to this place was very unpleasant, having had ill weather, and on the Alps much snow. I do not pretend to send you anything from hence, only the number of English which are here, and their way of living, will convince the French there is no want of money in England, or that we were not able to have carried on the war. Never people was so miserably poor as I have found all through France, and so unreasonable in their demands wherever they meet with strangers. Their vineyards are all destroyed by the frost, and their corn not, but indifferent. I am yours,

“M.”

To these details may be added an episode with which Lord Manchester had to deal, when at Venice, though whether successfully or not, does not appear from these papers. The defunct hero of the episode, Sir William Godolphin, was English Ambassador in Spain, when Titus Oates was making his revelations, among which was one to the effect that the Pope had pronounced England to be his own heritage, and that among the administrators named by the pontiff for the government of this papal annex, he had appointed Sir William Godolphin to the not onerous office of Lord Privy Seal. Whatever falsehood there may have been in this assertion, it is certain that Sir William, who had property broad-cast over Europe, remained in Spain, and there ultimately died. How he was appreciated there by the zealous members of that Church to which he had become a convert is curiously illustrated in the paper of instructions presented to Lord Manchester. There are no such expert will-makers as those of the class here represented, and who in this instance were collected round a dying man who declares that his soul

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is his heir, and that his ghostly fathers shall make a will for him, after his death, which shall benefit that soul—and, of course, the Church which has the charge of it.

The details, however, are best told in the annexed paper, acting on which information we can only hope that Lord Manchester was able to prove, at least to the government of Venice, in which state Sir William Godolphin held property, that however a man's soul might be affected by his virtues or his vices, it could lay no claim whatever to the enjoyment of his assets:—

“Sir William Godolphin, who has been formerly ambassador from this crown to the Court of Spain, continued at Madrid many years after the determination of his mission, and there died 11th July '96, leaving an estate in England, Spain, Venice, Rome and Amsterdam to the value of near 80,000*l.* sterling, in the whole whereof not above a fourth part was in England. On the 30th March 1696, being surrounded by priests and jesuits as he lay bedrid, a public notary was sent for, and an act passed but not signed by his own hand, wherein is signified that four persons, naming them (whereof three were priests), should be his testamentaries to make a will for him after his death, giving to each of them in this instrument a legacy and certain sums for masses and other such uses, adding two other persons to be joined with the former, four to execute the will, which should be made after his death by the four for the good of his soul, which he declared his universal heir. Some months after this and very few days before he died, that is toward the latter end of June old style, he made another will wherein he gives legacies to some of his relations in England, and then dies. This last will only has been duly proved, and administration of all the goods of the deceased granted with this testamentary disposition annexed to the two principal legatees, Francis Godolphin and Elizabeth Godolphin his sister, who, as

the only next of kin in equal degree to Sir William, are entitled, according to the constitution of England, to divide the whole residue of this estate not actually given by him, though the notarial act of the 30th March should be admitted to be a good will, which therefore we do not think it necessary to contest as revoked by ours (wherein the Venetian lawyers seem to lay their stress), but that they may consist with each other and yet not $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole estate actually given by both of them together. So that the question is whether the residuary part to which the soul is declared heir by the notarial act of the 30th March shall for so much as is at Venice (being about 20,000*l.* sterling) be left to the discretionary disposition of the priests by a will to be made by them after the death of the party contrary to all Constitutions but a modern practice in Spain only. Or whether the right heirs shall be entitled to the residue at Venice, allowing such proportion for charities as shall be thought reasonable. Concerning which this said Sir William, in a will all written with his own hand just before he went out of England, and yet remaining uncanceled, specified his intentions for disposing a considerable sum so designed by him as followeth: viz. to provide for the education and maintenance of poor scholars, the relief of decayed virtuous gentlemen, the redemption of prisoners, the placing out poor children to trades, leaving his brother (who was father of the present claimants) executor in the said will, and joined Dr. Jell, Dr. Atherton, Sir Philip Warwick and Secretary Cooke with him as trustees for the said charitable designation.

“And a determination in favour of the right heirs will seem more reasonable in this case when it shall appear that near half of this whole estate will be subject to the Spanish mode of a posthumous will, and this executed by testamentaries in favour of their own body rather than to answer the testator’s intentions for his

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soul, there being given 3,000 pistoles to the sister of one of the testamentaries by the will which they have made five months after Sir William's death, besides many other great gifts to others of their own relations, at the same time that they hinder the testator's relations from receiving their just legacies. Wherefore it is humbly prayed that the Earl of Manchester may be authorised to employ his offices at Venice, for a solemn hearing of this cause, in order to preserve so much of this estate as is in the Bank of Venice from being taken from the subjects of England by such artifice of the Spanish priests as the Venetian constitution would by no means suffer to be practised in their own dominion or upon any of their own subjects."

In the following letter, named with less noble men, mention is made of the Earl of Orford. Admiral William Russell had but recently received that title, and with it the distinction of Viscount Barfleur. This great admiral was the first Englishman who derived a title from foreign territory, for conquest there achieved. Russell was a rough sailor, unstable, one who had been well recompensed for services in furtherance of the revolution, but who was apt to believe that his services were, after all, but inadequately rewarded. He was the hero of that five days' conflict which commenced off Barfleur and terminated at La Hogue—and which served to convince James that Russell was a more thorough Whig than he believed him to be, and that an English fleet was an insuperable obstacle to a Jacobite triumph. The conqueror of Tourville, however, was neither a favourite with the king, nor popular with the nation, till a few years later, when he introduced many useful reforms into the administration of the navy, compelled the French to leave Catalonia, and carried the English flag aloft, undisputed master of the Mediterranean. The Middlesex electors cheered him as he appeared on the balcony of his house which, now Evans's

Hotel, still overlooks Covent Garden. King William raised the childless and grumbling old sailor to the title of Earl of Orford, and having enriched him by territory as well as ennobled him by territorial title, went to dine with him whom the king over the water had, at one time, nearly seduced into his service. Leke, Lord Scarsdale, was the third and last lord but one of that family, whose Jacobite tendencies are evidenced by his shyness of court.

MR. YARD TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

“NEWMARKET : April 8, 1698.

“MY LORD,—The king came hither on Monday last, and has since passed his time in hunting and the other diversions of the place. Yesterday the king’s plate, of 100*l.* value, was run for, and Sir John Parsons (the brewer) got it; after which a race was run between the two horses called Hauboy and Quamtam, the first belonging to Mr. Harvey and the other to Mr. Bow, and the last won. To-morrow the king dines at my Lord Orford’s, at Chippenham, about three miles off. I do not yet hear how long our stay is like to be in this place, where my lord Duke of Shrewsbury arrived yesterday from Woburn, his spitting of blood continuing very much.

“We have a good deal of company here. I welcomed the other day above twenty noblemen, my Lord Scarsdale one of them, who appears in the town, and had yesterday a horse run for the plate, but does not come to Court. Your Lordship will have an account in the news Mr. Stanyan receives from our office, that it was endeavoured yesterday in the House of Commons to have had Mr. Knight and Mr. Burton admitted to bail, which was moved by Mr. Harvey and seconded by Sir Edward Seymour—but they could not effect their aims, which was to have got these two bailed first that they might afterwards have done the same

CHAP. for Mr. Duncombe. I am, with great respect, your
II. Lordship's most faithful and humble servant,
"R. YARD."

We come in the next chapter to the preparations for and the entering upon Lord Manchester's greater mission—that, namely, to France.

CHAPTER III.

LAST YEARS OF KING WILLIAM.

IN the year 1699 there was a lull of arms, and once hostile powers, now simulating friendship, were congratulating each other on the pleasant advent of peace. In special celebration of this long-desired consummation, the Earl of Manchester was deputed to carry the good wishes of William to Louis XIV., and to watch narrowly the possible evil intentions of that sovereign and his ministers. The note of preparation sounded long and loudly before the departure of the ambassador, who carried with him every means and appliance to give lustre to the occasion, and to support the dignity of the English crown and nation in France. Among other things the gold and silver-gilt adornments hired by the earl for the furnishing the ambassadorial chapel in Paris excited remark and admiration. There went with him the retinue of a prince, and carriages such as his royal master had not often taken his ease in. The instructions under which he acted are curious and precise, and may be fittingly given here, though there were doubtless other rules and regulations whereby the ambassador directed his course, the usefulness of which will be seen hereafter. Meanwhile, here are the specific commands he was to obey:—

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“ WILLIAM R.

{ Instructions for our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Charles Earl of Manchester, whom we have appointed our Ambassador-Extraordinary to our good brother the most Christian King. Given at our Court at Kensington, 30th day of May 1699, in the 11 year of our reign.

“ Having received these instructions with your letters of credence, you shall, with all convenient speed, repair to Paris or such other place where the most Christian King shall keep his court, and as soon as you are ready for it, you shall ask an audience in our name ; at which, having delivered your credentials, you shall declare to him the great satisfaction we have in seeing the war, which has afflicted Europe for so many years, brought to an end, and our earnest desire that the peace may be durable and lasting. You shall more particularly acquaint him with the value and esteem we have for his person and friendship, and how ready we shall always be to preserve and cultivate the good correspondence so happily renewed between us and our dominions.

“ You shall likewise desire audience of the Dauphin, and deliver him our letter, accompanying the same with a suitable compliment, which you shall likewise make in our name to the rest of the princes of the blood, according to the style and practice of that Court, taking care at your audiences and on all other occasions to maintain our dignity, and that you be treated with all the honour and respect that are given to the Extraordinary-Ambassadors of Spain and other crowned heads.

“ You shall carefully observe the motions and intentions of that Court with respect to any design they may

have against us or our dominions, as well as against any other of their neighbours. You shall observe their inclinations in relation to the present state of affairs abroad—whether they are entering into any leagues or engagements with other princes, especially such as may be prejudicial to the peace which is so happily established in christendom.

“You shall entertain a good correspondence and intercourse with the Ambassadors and Ministers of all princes and states in amity with us, residing at the French Court, and particularly with those of the States General of the United Provinces. You shall on all occasions protect and countenance our merchants trading to any of the territories of the most Christian King, and use your endeavours to obtain relief for them upon any just complaints they shall make to you, and to procure the restitution of such privileges and immunities as they formerly enjoyed.

“Whereas our royal uncle, King Charles the Second, did by an order in Council, bearing date the 26th day of August 1668, direct his ambassadors not to give the hand in their own houses to envoys, in pursuance of what was practised by ambassadors of other princes, and the same having been ever since observed, we think fit to repeat this direction to you, not to give the hand to any envoy in your own house.

“Of all matters you shall be informed of, during your embassy, which may be of consequence and worthy our knowledge, you shall constantly give an account to us by one of our principal secretaries of state, from whom you will receive such further instructions and directions as we shall think fit to send you, which you are to observe accordingly.

“At your return from your embassy, we shall expect from you a particular account and narration of what hath happened remarkably in that Court during your continuance there, with relation to the abilities and

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affections of the French ministers, their interests, mutual correspondences and differences one with another. Their inclinations to foreign princes and states, together with all such other observations as you shall be able to make which may contribute to inform us of the present condition of that government and kingdom.

“W. R.”

Before we proceed to gather extracts from the ambassador's letters to his own court, we will insert copies of a few received by him from ministers, secretaries, and friends at home, but to which his replies do not appear in the Kimbolton papers. First, here is one from Lord Jersey, which shows how the liberty of oppressed Englishmen was vindicated by the Government, and how jealous that Government was of any suspicious movements in Scotland.

LORD JERSEY TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: Aug. 28, 1699.

“MY LORD,—I have the favour of your Lordship's letter of the $\frac{2}{13}$ Aug., with the enclosed paper, containing heads of matters about which you had spoken to M. Torcy. I cannot but believe M. Torcy knows what is done to Arnold; but since he pretends to have no knowledge of it, I think your Lordship does well to continue your enquiry concerning him in order to procure him his liberty.

“I remember I did speak about Sadler, and was answered he should have leave to go out of the kingdom, which I wonder he does not accept of rather than live under such persecution.

“I conclude Mr. William Fleming has by this time been with your Lordship to acquaint you with the state of the matter concerning himself, his wife and sister.

As to the complaint his Majesty has ordered you to

make about the twelve protestants that were taken by a French sloop armed, at Bayonne, out of an English ship bound home from St. Sebastian, all the information I can further give your Lordship is by sending you the enclosed paper, which was presented to the Lords Justices, who looked upon it as a thing of so extraordinary nature, that they thought fit to lay it before the king for his particular directions.

“ I have received information that there are frequent meetings in Scotland of persons disaffected to his Majesty’s Government, and that they have actually two deputies at St. Germain, and that one who had the same employment is lately dead at Paris. This advice is very general, and perhaps not much to be depended upon ; however, I thought it proper to give your Lordship this notice that you may make what enquiries you can concerning the Scotch having any deputies at St. Germain.

“ I have nothing to trouble your Lordship with concerning any of the other particulars mentioned in your last letter. I am, with all respect, my Lord, your Lordship’s most obedient humble servant,

“ JERSEY.”

Just a year before the following letter was addressed (by Mr. Yard, secretary) to Lord Manchester, the famous and luckless Scottish company had sent fifty ships and 1,200 men to make a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien. Of the sudden breaking up of such an establishment, it was thought necessary to transmit intelligence to the English ambassador at Paris—as such a number of Scotsmen, disappointed and lacking means, might become instruments of mischief.

MR. YARD TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ WHITEHALL : Sept. 14, 1699.

“ MY LORD,— . . . This morning came in letters from Sir William Beeston, Governor of Jamaica, dated

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10th of this month. He writes that by a vessel arrived there the day before from the Spanish coasts, he was advised that the Scotch have wholly deserted the settlement at Caledonia, in the country of Darin, and went from thence about the 24th of May; but whither, he could not hear or guess, unless they are gone to disperse themselves among the northern plantations; for they had not provisions to carry them to Scotland. What should induce them to so sudden a remove is also uncertain: 'tis true the Spaniards had called the Barlovente fleet to Carthagená, and they were preparing to carry a considerable strength against the Scots; so that, whether 't was the apprehension of this or the want of victuals that obliged them to take this resolution, is unknown. This is so considerable a piece of news that I would not omit giving your Lordship this account of it." . . .

Concerning Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury, noticed in the following letter from Mr. Secretary Vernon, the father of the Portobello Admiral, of King George's days, we shall have occasion to speak in a future page. At the time this letter was written, the "King of Hearts" had been Lord Chamberlain of the Household about a month. The references to the army are important. In the previous December, the Commons had resolved that the forces maintained in England should not exceed 7,000 men, and that these should be born Englishmen. This resolution offended William, as it was directed against the continuance here of his Dutch Guard. Like a constitutional king, however, he expressed to the House his readiness to transport them forthwith to Holland; adding, however, that he would take it very kindly of the Commons if they would only find some cause to enable him to retain near him, or at least in the country, these his old companions in arms. Within a week, the Commons formally announced to him their

reasons for not complying with his message, and their convictions that keeping up a foreign force in this country was altogether contrary to the constitution.

There is a mixture of domestic and political news in this letter. The Lady Cutts, whose death is here noticed, was the wife of one of the bravest men of his day—Jack Cutts—the Lord Cutts (Baron Gowran, in Ireland) of whom the 5th regiment of the line has good reason to be proud. This gallant fellow was with William at the Boyne, took share in the expedition to Brest, stormed the pallisades at Namur, had a hundred times looked on death, unmoved, but was now in a frenzy of grief at *one* death which touched him nearly. Marlborough called him the Salamander, from his coming scatheless out of a most tremendous action with part of the French army.

SECRETARY VERNON TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: Sep. 26, '99.

“MY LORD,—I would not trouble your Excellency oftener than I think there is a plausible occasion for it. But I ought not to omit acquainting you that my Lord Duke is upon the point of returning into the country again. He hath stayed longer here than was proper for one in his condition, who spits blood by fits, and constantly finds a great oppression on his lungs in the night, which obliges him at this time of the year to throw open the windows for a little breath. He hath done what he could that he might leave the town and his employment together, since neither of them agree with his health. But his master, not liking he should part with the Seals till he hath the offer of something else that may be more easy and agreeable, hath obliged him to hold the office, though he dispenses with the execution of it this winter, and, accordingly, he thinks of going out of town on Monday next. There will be left here a company of useless tools when the master

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workman is gone; all the office will serve for is to have a conveniency in it for sending your Excellency some parliament news, and I wish it may be such as you will like. Some have already employed their pens in writing a pamphlet against a standing army, as not in the least to be borne by a free people; they would allow nothing to be kept on foot except your Excellency's yeomen of the guard, and a country militia under new regulations such as would not leave us either a soldier or a ploughman in England, but some awkward creatures between both. Yet I suppose this opinion will be strongly supported, but I hope the reasons of safety may be the most prevalent.

"We do not go on with disbanding the ten regiments, as was once thought of, but we are turning it into a reform, by keeping up the officers and reducing the numbers of men, which many are well enough disposed to, provided the people they must pay are of their own nation. Our purses will not hold out to maintain all, and to give any preference to strangers appears to some of very hard digestion.

"The king hath had a spice of the gout this week, or something very like it, having had a pain in his knee with his swelling, but it is now pretty well over; it is the only distemper he can have that will not disturb us. I suppose your Excellency heard by the last post of Lady Cutts' death. She died that day in childbed of a daughter, which they say was brought dead into the world: he makes a passionate widower. The Earl of Jersey was sworn yesterday of the Privy Council.

"My Lord Portland talks of going on his embassy within a month.

"I am, with great respect, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient and faithful servant,

"J. VERNON."

The annexed fragment of an unsigned letter refers to

a foreign would-be regicide who had volunteered to kill King William. The French government had clapt the Italian bravo and assassin in the Bastille.

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TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“VENICE: Oct. 3, 1699.

“MY LORD,— . . . Applications have been made unto me, and also I suppose unto several of your Lordship’s friends here, to intercede with your Excellency to befriend the Count Boscoli, that he may be released from the Bastile; but as I absolutely refused to trouble you thereabout, so I hope others may do the like, he being a notorious evil person that hath done many wicked and villanous things in this his native country, and in several other states of Italy also, insomuch that he is banished from them, and he hath offered his endeavours unto the French and St. Germain’s courts to kill our king: for which reason, my Lord Jersey procured him to be more strictly confined and observed, as I suppose your Excellency may be informed, and have some instructions to watch him also, lest he commit more evil. His mother and wife, with other relations, by this may be at Paris, to use all the efforts they can for him; but I suppose this state does not desire he should have his liberty, neither do I think your Excellency will favour it, now you know the circumstances.

“I have notified from time to time unto the secretary of state what I could learn concerning this Count Boscoli, and the first notice of his villanous design was sent from hence.” . . .

With this, will contrast a gossiping letter from Mat. Prior, the poet, who had recently been secretary to the Earl of Portland’s embassy, in Paris.

MATHEW PRIOR TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“LONDON: Nov. 15, 1699.

“MY LORD—I arrived here on Friday night, and

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everybody confesses that only Roger is fitter than I to be sent express. On Saturday morning my Lord Jersey carried me to the King. I first read to his Majesty what your Lordship said to the King of France and what the king answered thereupon, and then I explained to his Majesty the substance of the whole that had passed during my being in France. His Majesty is satisfied with every step your Excellency made, and in one word, we did as we ought to do. His Majesty asked me a great many questions about your entry; you may believe I was glad on this occasion to do you justice. His Majesty asked me about the rank M. de Torcy's coach had, and in all this affair I can assure your Excellency he is very well satisfied. I have seen as well Charles as James Erby, and Christopher Montagu; I have been asked ten thousand questions, and gave them the news of my Lord Mandeville being to arrive at Paris within this six months, for which we all wish very heartily. I contracted a cold in the voyage, and wisely increased it by running about these two last days. I am blooded and keep my chamber to-day, which is the reason of my using another hand, I hope your Excellency will excuse it. The king dines to-day with my Lord Rochester at his house near Richmond; my Lord Jersey is gone to dine with him. Whig and Tory are, as of old, implacable. Doctor Davenant is coming up with another book in which he attacks the Grants, and is (as I am told) very scurrilous upon my Lord Chancellor and our dear friend Charles. This is I think all the news I have known since my arrival. I have only to add my great thanks to your Excellence for your hospitality and kindness to me in France, and wish you success in everything there with all possible zeal and sincerity. I am ever, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

“M. PRIOR.”

The Lord Rochester of the above letter was Lawrence Hyde, second son of the Earl of Clarendon, and younger brother of that Henry Hyde who loved literature and literary men, and expended a hundred thousand pounds in the formation of a library; Lawrence and Henry were the sons whom Clarendon recommended to the charity of Charles II., as children of a father who had never committed offence against the king. Dr. Davenant, to whom allusion is made in Prior's letter, was the son of the dramatist. He was a noted political writer, and the grants against which he now inveighed were those of forfeited estates in Ireland, to Romney, Albemarle, Portland, Athlone, Galway, and of the private estate of King James, amounting to nearly 96,000 acres, worth about 26,000*l.* a-year, to Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of Orkney, the ill-favoured mistress of William.

For pure unadulterated gossip, however, the following letter, endorsed "from Mr. Vanbrook" (afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh), the architect and comic writer—the builder of Blenheim and author of the 'Provoked Wife'—excels Prior's:—

SIR JOHN VANBRUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"LONDON: December 25, 1699.

"MY LORD,—if I could think of any way to make my letters either useful or entertaining to your Lordship, I would write to you oftener; but as to all Parliamentary affairs, or anything that relates to business, no doubt but you have a more exact correspondent than I can be, and for town affairs my Lady, to be sure, has 'em from hers, so that there's very little left for me to say to you; however, I think I should be to blame if I did not write something or other, that your Lordship might not suspect I have forgot I am obliged to you. The heat of this session seems much abated, since the battle Jack How and

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his admirers have had in the attack upon the commission against Pyrates. It has opened the eyes of a great many well-meaning gentlemen of the country party, who, by this infamous prosecution, account they ought to look upon him more as a discontented courtier than a patriot; and as in this vote they left him, so abundance of 'em, now they are ashamed of him, as he declares he is of them, swearing there never was before such a crew of rogues as this Parliament. He had great hopes of 'em last sessions, he says, but now he gives 'em over. 'T was very happy that in this question the majority was so great, it left no room to pretend the court brought off the courtiers; but (it) evidently appeared, the justice of their cause preserved 'em, and made a great many vote 'em innocent, who would have been heartily glad they could have found 'em guilty. The Irish Grants have gone smoothly hitherto. The report the Commissioners gave in was the clearest and most exact thing of the kind that had been done, and all parties in the House seemed wonderful pleased with it; Mr. Montagu spoke very frankly for the Bill, and said his concern in the matter should be far from influencing him, and that nobody should be more for the passing of it than he. Several of those Grants are found prodigious great; my Lord Portland's is a hundred and forty thousand acres, and my Lord Albemarle's as much. There was in the article that related to my Lord Romney several items with him; three of the Commissioners refused to sign to this part of the report as an unnecessary personal reflection, but the rest would have it in for the jest's sake to put the House of Commons into good humour; which it did, for everyone laughed very heartily. Poor Sir John Phillips was sent for out of the House t' other day into Westminster Hall and cudgelled, which he took with the patience of an apostle, went again into the House, told 'em how he had been served, declared his conscience would not

let him fight, and desired they would take the quarrel upon them, which they did, and have ordered the assailant into custody. 'T was one Harcourt did it upon a lawsuit between 'em, not as a champion for immorality, and profaneness, as your Lordship would be apt to imagine, if I did not tell you the contrary.

“Neal's dead; the last word he muttered was ‘Salisbury.’ They say he has made her sole executrix; I don't know whether it be true. Mr. Newton is like to have his place in the Mint.

“Miss Evans, the dancer at the new playhouse, is dead too; a fever slew her in eight and forty hours. She's much lamented by the town as well as by the house, which can't well bear her loss, matters running very low with 'em this winter. If Congreve's play don't help 'em they are undone. 'T is a comedy, and will be played about six weeks hence. Nobody has seen it yet.

“Leveridge is in Ireland. He owes so much money he dare not come over, so for want of him we ha'n't had any opera played this winter, tho' Purcell has set one new one, and Fingar another. We have got the woman from the Cheshire Cheese upon the stage, who has the best voice for 't by much that has been there at any time. We have the Emperor's crooked eunuch here, Francisco (Senesino); they give him a hundred and twenty guineas for five times. He has sung once and was well liked. Dogget was here last week; they gave him thirty pounds to act six times, which he did, and filled the house each time.

“My Lady Arglass, having been for some time under strong suspicions for pocketing some small goods, by the by, in shops, was t' other day catch't stealing 4 or 5 fans at Mrs. Toomes (Thomes's), who made her refund just as she was getting into her coach. The mob presently gathered about and made noise enough. My Lady Dartmouth was with her, and Lady Betty

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Cromwell, who is sick upon 't, and keeps house. This thing is seriously true.

“ I have been this summer at my Lord Carlisle's, and seen most of the great houses in the north—as Lord Nottingham's, Duke of Leeds', Chatsworth, etc. I stayed at Chatsworth four or five days, the duke being there. I showed him all my Lord Carlisle's designs, which he said was quite another thing than what he imagined from the character your Lordship gave him on 't. He absolutely approved the whole design, particularly the low wings, which he said would have an admirable effect without doors as well as within, being adorned with those ornaments of pilasters and urns, which he never thought of, but concluded 't was to be a plain low building like an orange-house. There has been a great many critics consulted upon it since, and no one objection being made to it, the stone is raising and the foundation will be laid in the spring. The model is preparing in wood, which, when done, is to travel to Kensington, where the king's thoughts upon 't are to be had. I don't find the Duke of Leeds thinks of giving Mr. M. any trouble about his place ; at least he talks as if he would not, laying it upon the small dessert of his son, who he says does not merit his help in it. The Duchess was overturned some time ago coming from Wimbleton by torchlight, and so desperately bruised, she has been at the brink of death with it, but is beyond expectation recovered to plague her husband, her son, and many others, some time longer. Before I end my letter I must congratulate your Lordship upon your success in wonderfully obliging all the English who have been at Paris since your coming there, which upon my word I take to be no easy matter. But you have done it effectually ; for one and all speak of it, and everybody here is glad to hear on 't. I remember you used to speak of it, but I thought it easier intended than executed. I am heartily glad, however, it suc-

ceeds, nobody wishing more heartily your Lordship may come off with reputation, than your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

“J. VANBROOK.

“Shrimpton is wedded to Mrs. Saunders, and Henly is near the matter with his first cousin, old Perigrine’s youngest daughter—a mettled jade.

“Pray, my Lord, my humble service to my Lady, who I am heartily glad to hear has her health better than at first. Lord Carberry toasts her with an exemplary constancy.

“Since I ended my letter I supped with Mr. Montagu, who tells me Mr. Newton is Master of the Mint; T. Stanley, Warden. *Pour moi, je suis tout comme j’étais.*”

The question of the Irish Grants was not destined to go so smoothly as Sir John Vanbrugh supposes in the above letter. While the writer was communicating his news, the Commons were resolving to bring in a bill to resume all grants of land and revenue in Ireland, made since the Revolution, and to apply the same to public purposes. A month or two later, they laid their resolutions before the king, who felt hurt that he could not give away to his faithful followers what had been forfeited to himself. He somewhat sarcastically suggested to his too remonstrant Commons that they would be better employed in reducing the national debt, and in restoring the public credit. The Commons could not, of course, take personal offence from the king, but they took care to intimate that whoever had counselled him to make such a reply was no friend to the establishment of good feeling between the sovereign and his people. Thereupon, they despatched well-paid commissioners to take account of the forfeited estates in Ireland. Further, they resolved that the passing of exorbitant grants was a high crime; and, tacking a

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money-bill and the resolution to resume the grants together, they forced the Lords to accept both: William being willing to yield in one point, as he was in immediate want of the supplies which parliament was ready to vote.

The cudgelling of an honourable member is told with a sympathising delight on the part of the narrator. It was not so long since peers horsewhipped, in person or by proxy, offending poets. Personal chastisements were lightly construed here as in France, where, however, the patient occasionally complained. At the court of the latter country, a satirical rhymers, who had been soundly flagellated by the satirised party, applied to the authorities. "What do you want?" was the question put to him. "Justice!" replied the smarting versifier. "Oh, it has already been done!" was the overwhelming rejoinder.

The reference to Newton reminds us that his official presence at the Mint, at all, was owing to Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, Newton's old friend and fellow-collegian. When Montagu was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was about the great work of recoinage the money, he procured from the king the nomination of Newton as Warden of the Mint. Pope has sneered at the great philosopher, Newton, in prose, as he has done at the greater philosopher, Bacon, in verse. Newton rendered high service to the nation as Warden of the Mint; and his promotion, alluded to, as Master, with a salary of nearly fifteen hundred a year, was an act of justice rather than of recompense. Previous to his first appointment, places in the Mint were conferred on the dangles about court, who never thought it worth their while to perform any other duty of their office, than that of receiving their salaries.

The theatrical news deserves a word or two of illustration. The town, inconsolable for the loss of a dancer, was not made merry by Congreve's comedy, 'The Way

of the World,' which was coldly received at Lincoln's Inn Fields, early in 1700, despite so brilliant a Milla-mant as Mrs. Bracegirdle, who exerted herself to the utmost for her very particular friend, the author. Congreve, disgusted with the public, wrote no more. Leveridge, named in the letter, was well-known and appreciated in his day, as Dick Leveridge, the bass-singer, at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the composer of many a jovial song. Thirty years after this letter was written, Leveridge offered to wager a hundred guineas that he would sing a bass song better than any man in England! His coffee-house in Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, was a place of resort for those who loved Leveridge's fine voice, rather coarse wit, and power of conversation,—qualities which made Dick welcome in all joyous fraternities. When old age and infirmity came upon him, he was not deserted by the boon companions of the past or the present time. They made up an annual purse for the ancient vocalist, who enjoyed the bounty till he was close on his ninetyeth year.

There is a more famous name that follows—Purcell, but it is not that of the famous Henry, who had “gone to that blessed place where only his harmony can be exceeded,” in 1695. Vanbrugh refers to Henry's brother, Daniel, who had set an opera or two with that sort of tolerable success which indicates moderate ability on the part of the composer. Henry is immortal as “minstrel.” Daniel was satisfied with being the first man of his time as a punster. Gottfried Finger was chapel-master to King James, whom the German did not care to follow into exile. He and Daniel Purcell were about equally “respectable” as composers.

Doggett the actor had, at this time, been eight years on the stage, and was the original representative of Congreve's Ben, in ‘Love for Love.’ This notice of his week's engagement, at as much per night as the

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great Betterton was receiving weekly, is the first instance of "starring" afforded by the annals of the English theatre. But *majora canamus*. The Lady Arglass, whose "Kleptomania" deprived Mrs. Thomes of her fans, was a dowager countess of the Irish peerage, whose lord, the last of his line, had died, in 1684. That Lady Betty Cromwell should be "sick upon it" and "keep house," was only natural, for poor Lady Betty was the countess's daughter, and was reasonably ashamed of her foolish old mother's propensities, and the rough comments made thereon by a London mob.

Vanbrugh had already achieved reputation as a dramatist, by his comedies, 'The Relapse' and 'The Provoked Wife,'—the former of which has recently been produced on the French stage, as an early play by Voltaire! Vanbrugh was about to achieve another reputation as architect, by building Castle Howard, for the Earl of Carlisle.

The Duchess of Leeds, of whom Vanbrugh speaks so disparagingly, was Bridget, daughter of Montagu Bertie, 3rd Earl of Lindsey. Her husband was the Earl Danby of King James's days, of whom William made a duke, to lighten his ultimate fall from power. Of the son, Peregrine, for whom he appears to have cared so little, Burnet remarks that he "was an extravagant man both in his pleasures and humours;" he might have added, a careless one of his country's honour, for when he lay with a naval squadron, off Scilly, he mistook a company of merchant ships for the French fleet coming down upon him, and forthwith quitted his station, and took shelter in Milford Haven.

Lord Carberry, who toasts my lady Manchester, in Vanbrugh's postscript, was a son of that Richard Vaughan, at whose house—Golden Grove, Caermarthen-shire—Jeffery Taylor, his refugee guest, wrote several of his works. The Lord Carberry of the postscript had, as the French say, "lived his life." In Charles II.'s

days, Pepys spoke of him as a reputed "lewd fellow, worse than Sir Charles Sedley," and an enemy to Clarendon. His character, however, improved with time, and in his old age was almost respectable. He was well versed in literature, became president of the Royal Society, and was appointed Governor of Jamaica. Lord Carberry was one of Dryden's earliest patrons; and he had a rare library—much of it of mystical divinity.

In the next letter the ambassador is making himself "at home" in Paris, and on principles which merit commendation. To owe no man anything was much more a maxim of his own than of his master's.

LORD MANCHESTER TO MR. MONTAGU.

"PARIS: Nov. 1699.

" . . . All things are extravagant, much more than I could imagine; so the necessities of people here are such that they cannot stay any time. The method I have hitherto taken is to pay every month, which is much to my reputation, it is true, notwithstanding most of my equipage I brought from England; yet my entry has cost considerable; the satisfaction I have is that it was extremely approved of here, which seldom happens in France. I have also had the good fortune to oblige all the English, as I believe you will find whenever you see them; these things cannot be done but by living well, though at present it is great expense; yet at last it may turn to my advantage."

The subjoined document is one which is in itself a mystery, and which deals mysteriously with it. The letter, preserved at Kimbolton, is dated November 20, 1699, without subscription of signature, but directed thus: "À Monsieur Proctor, chez M. Viard, à St. Cosmé, dans la rue de la Harpe, Paris," and with an endorsement in these words, "Lord Middleton's letters came

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under a cover directed thus: *À M. Levesque St. Jean, Banquier, Paris,*" seems to have been one of the intercepted Jacobite letters which fell into the hands of the English ambassador. There is mystery enough in the style and expression, which were doubtless sufficiently intelligible to the correspondent to whom the missive was addressed—whether a real or a fictitious Monsieur Proctor.

One allusion, however, in this letter may be readily explained. The action of the "wild boar," and the allusion to the destruction of monsters is partly personal, partly political. The "late Prince of Wales," as it was the fashion, with Whigs, to designate the youthful son of the ex-king James, was frequently taken, all young as he was, to share in the perils and delights of wild-boar shooting in the royal forests. On one of these occasions, and in the presence of some little danger, when the boar made a stand, the princely boy had exhibited laudable courage, and this moved the hearts of all the Jacobites, to whom due communication of the circumstance was made, in the British dominions and abroad.

The exiled king solemnly commemorates the auspicious event by issuing a medal in honour of his disinherited heir. "*Cognoscent mei me.*" *My own shall know me* was the not very appropriate motto on the exergue, unless it bore reference to the circumstance of the monster wild-boar, evidently *not* knowing with whom he had to deal. A prettier allusion was to be discerned on that side of the medal on which was to be seen that "very difficult thing to paint," as the gentleman remarks in *Sylvester Daggerwood*, the "sun behind a cloud," with the significant legend "*Et lucet et latet,*" which may be rendered,—"*He shines, though he is under a cloud, at St. Germain's.*" On the reverse there was a double figure of the little prince. In the foreground, he stood in bold relief—in the habit of a student—

and with this inscribed testimonial to his abilities, “*Literis insignis,*” *remarkable for his learning*;—which was not true even as a prophecy. In the distance, there was a smaller figure of the prince, now costumed as a mighty hunter, and the young Nimrod of a dozen years of age was seen calmly shooting at a rampant but highly honoured wild-boar, the words “— *et armis*” continuing the above testimonial, and here witnessing to his dexterity as a sportsman. For his age, he was not unskillful; and on one of these occasions, when he made twenty-two hits out of thirty-six shots fired, all St. Germain was jubilant, and the matter was mentioned, with all the honours, at the Tory Mug House, in Salisbury Court.

The medal, commemorative of the prince’s courage when the wild boar stood at bay, or turned to assault, probably reached the Mug House also; but Louis XIV. painfully wounded the susceptibility of James II. by prohibiting the publication of this medal—that is, forbidding its being offered openly for sale. Nevertheless, it was extensively circulated in private, and thereby the incident of the wild boar and the prince, who did him the honour of standing boldly in his enraged presence, as noted in the annexed letter, has been very substantially preserved in the cabinets of the curious.

The following is the letter to which we have given this introductory annotation:—

UNKNOWN WRITER TO UNKNOWN READER.

“November 20, 1699.

“I have appeared but little, my dear friend, ever since my coming, no more than the necessity of my business required, but there is a rogue or two of a messenger who rushed in where I once lodged, which obliged me to be more close; and my friends, since the barbarous news is come out of Ireland, have plied me with so many advices that I do not stir out once in a fortnight,

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and that by night only, which is a great trouble. I dare not venture to take a turn in the old grass walk, for fear of those rogues the adversaries, who I have reason to believe would stick at no villany to avoid appearing such as I have painted them. I am extremely obliged to honest Fego, who, though under troubles of his own, affords me all manner of assistance. I have been forced to lodge a bill in Chancery, which went, I will assure you, very much against the grain; but I had otherwise been precluded in point of time, and the treacherous trustee would have swallowed me up as to rights, and sold the estate. I want you to be one of the evidences, but if you do not come quickly I shall be forced to run away from my cause and make you another visit, which nothing but the extreme necessity or danger shall make me resolve upon, as being unwilling to be burdensome where I can do no service. It would not be improper to hint what I write here to F. S. upon the first opportunity you have, and pray give, in my name, all acknowledgments and services. My cousin likewise will be obliged to go over to Ireland to look after her affairs (for she is basely used) or else to some place very distant from this town, to live after a cheaper manner. I warn you, my dear friend, not to mistake this for desponding, I never had one such thought; but if I find myself deceived in my calculations again, as to time I mean, I shall have no plum porridge to eat, and must find out another way of living.

“I was under so many troubles when I writ my last letter that I remember but very little of it, only I cannot think if it was fit to be shown, nor shall I send you any that will. Prognosticators say we shall have very warm weather, and that this session is not likely to be of any long continuance. For myself, who am swayed by the reason which I at the first formed my opinion from, I confess I can find even in this speech something to confirm me, and cannot but think it odd there is nothing of the Spanish affair in it.

“That heroic action of the wild boar has charmed us all, but we cannot without trembling reflect upon the danger to which this so promising a young prince was exposed, and how fatal it might have proved if he had missed his shot; but the overruling Power will, I trust, be ever careful of royal blood, and in due time exterminate monsters.

“The majordomo has, I hope, reached you by this time, and then he has brought you news of the death of poor Treaseare, than whom no man could more long to see you. God Almighty has been pleased in a short while to deprive two of my friends of a satisfaction they had set their whole hearts upon; honest Fego continues invincible in his faith, and I must conjure you as a man of honour and lover of justice without respect of persons, to get him true information in one matter. I hope our friend who paid you the money when he came from Fontainebleau will prove just in the end, though he hath not hitherto been so clever as he ought, but (which is not fair) been his own carver all along. About April last he sold a horse, as we are informed, to the governor of Paris; since you make to Fego offers of service, he begs of you to visit the governor’s stable, to discourse the master of his horse, to know what he gave for it, and if any of less value was sold at the same time, and put off upon the credit of this, and what price was set upon each by the buyer. . . . I beg of you, my dear friend, to give my most humble duty and service to my Lord M——, and to his lady likewise, if you have an opportunity. If I can pick up anything worth communicating to him, you shall have it, but I am more inclinable to retire for a month amongst some of my relations thirty or forty miles off, that I may get a little fresh air, which I very much want, upon my word. Adieu, my dear friend. I am yours ever.”

Questions of more mere matter of fact, and more openly treated, introduce the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

MATTHEW PRIOR, POET.

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THE finances of King William were not so flourishing at this time but that the representatives of his person and policy in foreign courts, subject to extraordinary outlays, particularly at a period when Jacobites were active in works of sedition, intrigues were a-foot, plots were projected, and agents, at the best suspicious, had to be paid liberally for questionable intelligence. The Earl of Manchester, it will be seen, had to borrow money in order that he might leave Paris honourably, and though this was for the king's service, and not for his own, he appears to have found delays in the repayment.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
(THE MEMORIAL OF THE EARL OF MANCHESTER).

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—Your Majesty having been graciously pleased to direct the sum of 1,397*l.* 10*s.* to be paid unto the said earl by 300*l.* a week, from the first day of January, in part of the arrears due to him as late ambassador in France, there remain yet due to him on his ordinary

	£	s.	d.
Entertainment	2,285	14	3½
And upon five bills of extraordinarys	2,480	0	0
In all	4,765	14	3½

That the said earl, being commanded by your Majesty on a sudden to leave France, had not time to apply for

money to discharge his debts, but was obliged to take up money from his merchants and gave bills to repay the same in a short time here in London, great part whereof remains unpaid, and the said merchants being very importunate with the said earl for their money.

“It is humbly prayed that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct the payment of the said 4,765*l.* 14*s.* 3½ or that the said 300*l.* a week may be continued till the same is satisfied.”

We have noticed above that the intelligencers or informers in the pay of the English King's government, were often untrustworthy, and the annexed letter from Secretary Vernon gives further illustration of this fact. The Secretary gives the portrait of one of those rascals—there were many of them—who lived by betraying both parties whom they affected to serve. The grave Vernon, for lack of better employment, can afford to waste some small wit on this fellow.

The Lord Windsor mentioned in this letter was probably the son of Other Windsor, second earl of that line. He was Baron Windsor. There was a Viscount Windsor (Lord Mountjoy in Ireland) who became the third husband of Charlotte, widow of the second Lord Jeffries—son of the notorious judge. This lady herself was of mixed descent, being the only daughter of Philip, seventh earl of Pembroke, and of Henriette de Querouaille, third daughter of Louise de Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth and mistress to Charles II.

In the new parliament to which Vernon makes reference, occurred the famous contest for Speaker, in the House of Commons, between Harley and Sir Richard Onslow, when the former was elected by a majority of 249 to 125, a result extremely unsatisfactory to the Whigs, as it proved, very unpleasantly, that the Tory interest was the more influential in the House

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of Commons, and that the former party would have to look well to the maintaining of their own. This was one of Harley's great triumphs, up to which he had been steadily working. His course hitherto had been—service in a troop of horse which his father, Sir Edward, had raised in support of William of Orange; he had then been chosen M.P. for the Cornish borough, Tregony—subsequently he sat for Radnor. In 1690 he had been selected one of the nine commissioners for examining the public accounts, and one of the arbitrators for the union of the two Indian companies. His most conspicuous public service, however, hitherto, had been his introduction, in 1694, of the motion for the frequent meeting and calling of parliament, which had the rare good fortune of being passed by both houses, without alteration or amendment.

One singular circumstance connected with the Speaker of the parliament referred to by Vernon, may be here mentioned. Harley was educated at a private school at Shilton in Oxfordshire, under the Rev. Mr. Birch. From this private school, there were thirteen pupils who were contemporaries in the public service as they had formerly been at school; namely, Lord Chancellor Harcourt, the Lord High Treasurer Harley (Earl of Oxford), the Lord Chief Justice Trevor of the Common Pleas, and ten members of the House of Commons.

SECRETARY VERNON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: February 13, 1700.

“MY LORD,—Your letters of the 15th and 19th arrived together on Tuesday last, and have been laid before his Majesty. My Lord Windsor's servant brought me the same evening your letter of the 21st.

“I have no directions to send you upon your letters. What negotiations are on foot, are like to be carried on in Holland, but I don't hear that either side begins

yet to open themselves ; I suppose they will not be long in that posture.

“Count Tallard has printed and published the memorial M. D’Avaux carried into Holland ; it came out both in English and French three or four days before the Dutch post brought it to the king. The man that Collins has brought over is a very slippery spark, and has played all sorts of pranks here formerly, and I rather expect a new trick from him than any useful service, but I must do the best with him I can. He knows not where to look for any of the men he has mentioned, but says he must have time to find them. In the mean time, he wants the protection of the government to secure him from returning to Newgate, which he was confined to, for his insolent language against the king. He makes great use of your Excellency’s having heard before of his strange game, and that is the best foundation he grounds his credit. I suppose ere long, if he discovers nothing else he will discover himself.

“You will receive from the office, the king’s speech. I hope that will be looked upon as a proof we are in a peaceable disposition ; how long we shall find others so is more to be suspected. I expect the speech will be reported to-morrow in our house ; we could not come sooner to it by reason of the multitude of petitions about elections, and there is a great keenness to make examples of those who have bribed the boroughs. I believe, upon reading the king’s speech in our House, they will vote an address of thanks with assurances of supporting the king and his government and taking the most effectual ways for the safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe.

“The Lords, I hear, have resolved on such an address already, with some additions about alliances, and intend to desire the concurrence of the Commons.

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The king is sensible that you are under some inconvenience at your staying there, but does not think it can be otherwise at present, and hopes you are under no great inconvenience in it.

“I am, with great respect, your Excellency’s faithful and obedient servant,

“J. VERNON.”

The Earl of Melfort, whose name will be found frequently mentioned in one portion of these pages, was one of the many men of his day who greatly profited by the alleged treason of others, and profitably practised it himself. In James II.’s royal period in England, Melfort had got assigned to him the estate of the octogenarian Sir Hugh Campbell, worth a thousand a year. The forfeiture of this estate, the owner of which could not be proved to be guilty, excited a general indignation; but it made of Melfort a servile tool of James, and he soon after, with his brother the Earl of Perth, conformed to the Romish religion, professed by the king. Melfort was as vigilant as he was servile; and he was the first to propose, on the prospect of the revolution of 1688, the seizure of all suspected persons, and the imprisoning of them in Portsmouth. The proposal was ridiculed by Sunderland, as impracticable.

Melfort, in following the fortunes of James, was happiest when employed in intrigues against William. His master had often to disavow his acts and his epistles, and Melfort frequently marred the design he had undertaken to accomplish. His letter, which is referred to in the following extract of a despatch from Secretary Vernon to Lord Manchester, has been already explained; but the despatch shows of what importance the doings of this meddling agent were accounted by the ministers at the court of St. James’s.

SECRETARY VERNON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

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"WHITEHALL: February 20, 1700.

"MY LORD,—I send you inclosed the Earl of Melfort's letter, printed by order of the House of Lords. I suppose there will be no question made at St. Germain's whether the letter be genuine or not; at least M. Tallard does not call that into doubt, though he seems much offended at the letters being communicated to the Lords and Commons. He endeavoured to speak with me on Monday night, but I was gone to Kensington; and upon his writing to me next morning, that I would appoint him a time when he might speak with me, I went to him. He was full of expostulations upon the letters being carried to the two houses by the Lord Chamberlain and myself, as if it were done to create an animosity between the two nations, and to give the alarm that the French had formed a design to invade England, whereas this appeared to be only a chymical notion of Melfort—who (as he often repeated) was un fou et un extravagant; that he was banished from the court of St. James', and had nothing to do in the court of France; that his waiting upon Mme. De Maintenon was only to get two of his daughters put into the nunnery of St. Cyr; that he had no access to the French ministers, but was spinning cobwebs of his own, and there ought not to have been any occasion taken from thence to create any jealousies and misunderstandings; that the French had shown their disposition to live in friendship with England, and he thought care ought to be taken on our side not to give any ground to believe that we were picking a quarrel with them; and this he thought necessary to tell me as a matter that deserved attention.

.

"As to the character he gave my Lord Melfort of fou et incorsé (*sic.*), when we saw him treated as such in

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France we should be willing to have the same opinion of him ; till then we could not but remember what an instrument he had been in promoting the intended assassination and invasion, and must be concerned that he is bringing himself into play again upon the same bottom ; and, by his way of writing, one must suspect that he is admitted into conversations with the French ministers. It seemed very extraordinary that he should press the improving this opportunity now the court of France had resentment upon the discovery of some treachery they thought his Majesty guilty of."

Occasionally there came to the English Ambassador in Paris, scraps of interesting intelligence from foreign courts. A paragraph of more than usual interest occurs in a letter addressed from Stockholm, December 8, 1700, from Mr. Robinson, the British Envoy in Sweden. It refers to what occurred just previous to that wonderful battle of Narva, fought on November 30, in which Charles XII., then only in his nineteenth year, attacked from seventy to eighty thousand Russians behind strong entrenchments, with about a fourth of that force. The attack was made in a snow storm, and the result was the slaughter of half the Russian army, and the surrender of such of the remainder as were not able to effect their escape. A victory so complete, of a small force over a greater, had rarely been seen. The conquering young king bore his honours modestly, and the comment of Czar Peter upon the calamity was that the Swedes, by fighting in that fashion, would at last teach his Russians to vanquish them : and Pultowa, in time, compensated in some degree, for Narva.

Much as we have heard of the bearing of Charles during the fight, worthy of admiration, here is something not less worthy of praise, connected with what took place before that sanguinary fight begun. The night before the wondrous victory of Agincourt, the English were at

prayers, and their brave but too confident enemy, at wine and dice. In the snow, before Narva, Charles bore himself, not like the madman of the North, but like a true Christian king; and when his army rose, refreshed and strengthened, they turned from the sacrament of peace, and smote the Amalekites, hip and thigh!

MR. ROBINSON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“STOCKHOLM: Dec. 8, 1700.

“ . . . That the day before the action his Majesty had recommended and given time to all his army to prepare themselves and receive the sacrament, himself exhorting them to repentance, and especially that for the love of God and him they would forgive one another, and be in perfect charity. After the sacrament his Majesty, at the head of his army, represented to them the barbarous cruelty of the enemy before them, and the necessity of conquering or dying; the justice of his own cause, and therefore the firm confidence he had that God would give a blessing to his endeavours; yet if any of them were unwilling to venture with him, they should have free leave to retire; nor should they thereby incur his displeasure. Upon this the whole army expressed their unanimous resolution to live and die with him, and their desire to be led against the enemy.”

Does not the above indicate almost a plagiarism from the sentiments to which the poet gives expression, in the person of Henry V.?—

Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through my host,
That he which hath no stomach to this fight,
Let him depart, his passport shall be made,
And crowns for convoy put into his purse.
We would not die in that man's company
That fears his fellowship to die with us.

More gossip, with matters of grave import, forms the staple of the next letter from home, written by

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Mr. Yard. The Lord Privy Seal, who is spoken of as recently deceased, was the first Lord Lonsdale. His successor was the first Earl of Tankerville, better known as Forde Grey, the third Baron Grey of Werke—the rough wooer who forcibly carried off Lady Henrietta Berkeley, and had to stand trial for the outrage. William restored him to his estate, and elevated him in the peerage. Lord Tankerville was an author too. His secret history of the Rye House Plot was published in 1754, in the time of his great grandson, through his daughter and sole heiress—Charles Bennet, Earl of Tankerville.

But we come upon a still more notable man in the person of the first and only *Earl* of Ranelagh, of the Irish Peerage, a man who, having ruined himself by his passion for building and his extravagance in gardening, was now appointed to a newly-created post—superintendent of the royal edifices and pleasure-grounds, and bidden to try his lavish hand on Hampton Court Palace and demesne. The earl was great grandson of Jones, Archbishop of Dublin in the reign of Charles I., and had been promoted from Viscount by Charles II., in 1674. The king loved a young man of great parts and great vices, whose conversation abounded with wit, and whose dexterity rather than aptitude for business was notorious.

This aptitude was, however, of a particular quality; a quality extremely gratifying to Charles II. Lord Ranelagh, who then had the finances of Ireland in his hands, was always ready to supply his royal master—after himself—with money. Out of the Irish revenue he undertook to supply Charles with funds to defray the expenses to be incurred in repairing and marring Windsor Castle. Into the Irish treasury, Charles's French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, was also permitted to dip her hands. To serve such people as these, Irish officials were left unpaid, and the Irish

accounts got into great confusion. The king urged Lord Essex (the first of the Capels who bore that title, the unfortunate lord who cut his throat in the Tower), who was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to declare Ranelagh's accounts duly passed. The gallant Essex replied that he would, to please his Majesty, declare Ranelagh to be duly excused from presenting them, but that he would not do more!

This Irish financier became paymaster of the forces under James II., and was constantly in arrears. Questioned repeatedly in the English House of Commons, the fat, dark, middle-aged man turned every point aside by his wit and facetiousness; and, when he was accused, soon after the death of William, whom he had also served as paymaster to the army, of having defrauded the government of a million of money, it was imputed to him as a merit by his friends, that he was in default only a paltry hundred thousand pounds or so! He was, however, expelled the house; and he found consolation in the enjoyment of his mansion and gardens on the river-side at Chelsea, known to a later and a revelling generation as "Ranelagh." This nobleman's only daughter married Lord Coningsby, a brave, eccentric, blundering man, whom Pope has immortalised in his Satires, in the simple expression, "Coningsby harangues!" For this marriage, Lord Ranelagh disinherited his daughter, and left all his property to Greenwich Hospital. The house he had designed and the gardens he had laid out, east of "Chelsea College," became a place of public resort. Lord Ranelagh died in 1711. The disinheriting of his daughter was an unjustifiable act; the worst that could be said against Coningsby was that he was a heavy, stupid man; while Ranelagh was remarkably quick and brilliant. In early life, there had been a dash of eccentricity about him, too. He had been in love with the most beautiful, lazy, languishing, affected, and irresistible of the so-called maids of honour in the court of

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Charles II. Mistress Jane Middleton, however, had another lover, Ralph Montagu, afterwards Duke of Montagu, to get rid of whom, Mr. Jones—who was not yet Lord Ranelagh, furthered the suit of a third and more dangerous lover—the Chevalier de Grammont himself. For a man of wit, this was a dangerous, as it proved an unsuccessful, process.

The trade-laws referred to in the letter from Mr. Yard will excite, perhaps, some surprise. The break-up of the Scottish trading expedition to Darien was received in England with that resignation with which a man is said to look upon the calamities which befall his friends. Its establishment had sorely disturbed the king's peace. It had led to his being petitioned out of all reason, and a law forbidding these assaults on him, from Scotland, was entirely disregarded. The impracticability of commercially opposing one part of the kingdom against the other, led the king to desire an end, which was long a-coming—one law for all traders.

MR. YARD TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: July 22, 1700.

“MY LORD,—The little news we have here is the reason I do not trouble your Lordship oftener. Your Lordship has already heard of the death of my Lord Privy Seal, and we are now expecting how the office will be disposed of. The king has declared that he will commit the custody of the Privy Seal very soon to a single person; who is the person designed I cannot yet tell your Lordship. The Scots are now convinced that the news about Darien is true, for some persons are arrived in Scotland who were at the signing of the capitulation with the Spaniards, in pursuance of which they all embarked and directed their course to some of their English plantations, their ships not being in a condition to go directly home. The discontented party in Scotland, seeing their measures broke in relation to Darien,

are setting up a new device to distinguish themselves by, and foment an animosity by entering into an agreement whereby they promise, on their honour and conscience, to wear no foreign manufactures, nor drink any foreign wine, which the Privy Council, looking upon as of dangerous consequences, and it coming directly against an Act of Parliament which forbids the entering into any leagues, covenants, or engagements of that kind without the king's leave, they published a proclamation forbidding all persons to sign the association; but, notwithstanding this, several of the nobility and gentry had subscribed the same, and they were handing it about for more hands. I suppose your Lordship has heard that my Lord Ranelagh is made superintendent of the king's buildings and gardens, though I do not find he has yet any salary settled for this new office; his present business will be to finish Hampton Court.

“I am, with great respect, my Lord,

“Your Lordship's most obedient,

“R. YARD.”

An extract from a letter written by Vernon refers to a serious matter connected with the seizure of French pirates at sea, their trial, and condemnation. It does not appear, however, that Lord Manchester was much troubled by the French government on the subject.

SECRETARY VERNON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: Oct. 28, 1700.

“ . . . Our Admiralty Sessions for the trial of the French pirates is now concluded. They have been tried by juries most of French and English, though our great lawyers said they could not pretend to it in accusations of this nature; but everything has been carried with great candour and impartiality, so that whatever could make for the acquittal of any of them was laid hold of in their favour, by which means of 90 men that

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were taken fighting in one ship, after many piracies committed by them, 38 were acquitted, and 52 condemned."

LORD MANCHESTER TO LORD JERSEY.

"PARIS: Sept.

" . . . I do not doubt but you have heard that the Princess has sent me letters for this court to notify the death of the Duke of Gloucester. Unless I have also orders from the king I cannot present them. Nor will they be received as I have informed myself. I should think they ought to have known the king's pleasure, there is so much time lost. In my opinion, it is much better to let it alone, for though they should go into mourning here, it would be for so little time that it might not be well taken."

When the letter, dated Paris, Dec. 19, from the Earl of Manchester to his brilliant cousin, Charles Montagu, was despatched, the nobleman to whom it was addressed had worn his title of Baron but four days. The title of Viscount, Earl, and Marquis of Halifax had been enjoyed by the two Savilles, father and son, from 1668, when the viscounty was conferred, to 1700, when the titles became extinct.

In December of the latter year, Charles Montagu, grandson of the first Earl of Manchester (being the fourth son of George, who was the fifth son of that earl), was created Baron Halifax. Fourteen years later he was created Viscount Sunbury and Earl of Halifax, titles in which he was succeeded by his nephew and great nephew, in which last the honours became extinct, in 1772.

And here before giving Lord Manchester's letter to his cousin Halifax, we will insert a letter which suddenly turns up from the father of Halifax—the George above named. It is of interest from its connection with marriage statistics and domestic economy. There is, as



CHARLES MONTAGU, KARL OF HALIFAX

FRONT VIEW OF THE STATUE OF HIMSELF

LONDON: HATCH & BROS.

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Just before giving Lord Manchester's letter to the Duke of Halifax, we will insert a letter which was written up from the father of Halifax—the George Montagu. It is of interest from its connection with the arrangements for the domestic economy. There is, of



CHARLES MONTAGU, EARL OF HALIFAX.

FROM THE ORIGINAL AT KIMBOLTON.

London, Hurst & Blackett. 1864.

before said, no date to it, but as the writer's sister is spoken of in the postscript by her married baronial title of "Chandos," the period was probably about the middle of the seventeenth century. This document, like one in another page, will show the nature of the difficulties which, in those days, impeded the coming together of young hearts.

GEORGE MONTAGU TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

"MY LORD,—I humbly thank you for the book which I have now received. And I have now treated this business for my niece to the utmost, where at the bottom I find little of honour or plenty intended, but altogether terms of advantage to be gained from you and me, there being nothing yielded on their side, on the point of maintenance for the present, which will be the comfort of their lives, and indeed the merit of her portion that carries any equality or correspondence to the fortune she brings them; my opinion of which I have plainly set down under Doctor Wiseman's flourish; and indeed, my Lord, examining it, they give their son but 40*l.*, besides the interest of his wife's portion, and the rest of the estate they enjoy during their lives; but his advancement or the consideration of this marriage moves them nothing but to settle the estate, when they can no longer enjoy it. And I hope they allow him 40*l.* a year now, otherwise my young gallant is in a sad condition. I have offered them to take 600*l.* a year, if they will give them diet while they reside together, and let them be furnished, if they part from them, to pay for it in another place. But in a word, they refuse all things excepting 400*l.*, as I have expressed; they will not give them sixpence of the portion; nor add to their maintenance if old Sir Thomas Wiseman should happen to die, when the father's fortune would be so enlarged as that they would be in possession of all.

"For my own part, I confess I am so unsatisfied, that

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I desire to be excused from proceeding till I receive your Lordship's opinion of these conditions; and I think it in vain to give myself the trouble or expense of seeing writings of an estate that being never so clear we are not to have any share of. And I believe, in all treaties of this nature, the matter is first agreed on, before the manner of settlement; which may too far admit a concession, more especially when the terms are at that distance and disproportion; for the case is altered since I waited on you, the difference being only then whether 700*l.* or 800*l.* a year; and nothing less in discourse. Doctor Wiseman desires your Lordship's answer and mine, in writing, to his papers, which if you please to send me up, you will oblige your Lordship's humble servant,

“GEO. MONTAGU.

“My sister Chandos lies in a weak condition, being brought to bed before her time, of a daughter, which is dead, and herself full of the small-pox. We all beg your Lordship's prayers, and present our humble service to you and my lady. My Lady Irby lies very ill, and desires me to write to you, whether my Lady can lend her a milche ass, and she will send a man a' purpose.”

The Lady Chandos named in the above postscript, the sister of the writer, was the wife of the sixth Baron Chandos of Sudeley. The fifth baron, father of the latter, was the famous “King of Cotswold,” a title popularly awarded to him on account of the magnificence and number of the retinue with which he was wont to go up to court. His wife was the daughter of Ferdinando, fifth Earl Derby of the house of Stanley, concerning the manner of whose death the following extract from the Harleian MSS. affords details highly illustrative of the period. The earl was supposed to have been bewitched to death, and “On the 10th April,

1594, about midnight, was found in his Honour's bed-chamber, by one Mr. Halsall, an image of wax, with hair like unto the hair of his Honour's head, twisted through the belly thereof, from The image was hastily cast into the fire by Mr. Halsall before it was viewed, because he thought *by burning the wax* he should relieve my lord from witchcraft, and *burn the witch* who so much tormented his Honour. But it fell out contrary to his love and affection, for after the melting thereof, his Honour more and more declined."

The sixth Lord Chandos was more fatally visited by small-pox than his wife. This gallant cavalier fought so lustily for the King, at Newbury, that Charles offered to make him an earl under that name, but he declined, on the ground of present unworthiness. Waller subsequently took his fortified mansion at Sudeley, with all its valuable contents, and, later, the parliament mulcted him in a fine of 4,000*l*. In 1652, Lord Chandos killed Colonel Compton in a duel on Putney Marsh, for which the survivor was tried, *after* a year's imprisonment, and convicted of manslaughter. He was shortly after attacked by small-pox, of which he died. The two marriages of this lord produced five daughters, but no sons. The seventh lord, brother to the last baron, will be remembered by the readers of Pepys, as "my simple Lord Chandos," who sang psalms at Lord Sandwich's, till the diarist was weary of listening to the dull minstrel.

There only remains to be added, in reference to the above postscript, that the Lady Irby therein mentioned as anxious for the loan of a milch-ass, was George Montagu's mother-in-law. Of the five sons of the marriage of this gentleman with Elizabeth Irby, the fourth son, Charles, became the first Lord Halifax, the youngest, Lord Chief Justice of the Exchequer.

We now return to Lord Manchester, and the first Lord Halifax of the House of Montagu.

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LORD MANCHESTER TO LORD HALIFAX.

"PARIS : Dec. 19, 1760.

"MY LORD,—I am very glad you are out of the House of Commons, and I believe the Tory party are not sorry, who I suppose are now to govern. I thought Lord Rochester named our new secretary, but I hear now it was Lord Jersey, who has more interest with the king than ever. I cannot comprehend what we are doing, and what measures we intend to take with France; their way of proceeding has surprised most, though it must be owned the emperor's not signing gives them a plausible pretence for it. What may be the consequences, time must show, but I cannot see any good one to England; and what remedy there is, is hard to tell. I must desire you will send me some light into affairs at home, and how people stand affected, and what is your opinion in relation to myself. You see as I go on, I cannot hope to save anything; and though you are so kind as to have got me my first bill of extraordinaries paid, yet I am still in a great arrear, most of which I owe to my merchant in London or here. It would make me easy if there was any hope after sometime longer one should be considered, but when I see all my friends in a manner laid aside, what can I expect? and it may be they will desire one here of their own party, though, if so, I cannot but think the king will consider me; and to leave this place is what I shall not be sorry for. If we own the new king of Spain, I believe an ambassador will be sent to compliment him, which I am in doubt whether I ought not to desire it rather than stay here; the expence will be less and the allowance the same. I may be allowed something more than the ordinary for my equipage, and by which means my arrears would be paid me, so that I should begin anew; and my stay there cannot be so long as is likely to be here. I fancy you will

take me to have a rambling head, but what I propose is, whilst abroad I could save so much as to make me easy when I return; upon the whole, I desire your advice, and if you are of this opinion, and think it for my interest, be so good as to mention it to Lord Jersey, as from yourself, to prevent the naming any other, if you find matters tend that way, as I think they will; otherwise, you will see me soon at home. I cannot yet desire leave, as matters stand, to come to England about my own affairs, which I am sensible do require my being there, but I intend it as soon as I see it is proper.

“Your, &c. M.”

A note struck by a poet—though he was a humble man's son, and had a butcher's wife for the Chloe of his loves—was picked up in a coffee-house by Harley, and will amuse. The note is from Mat. Prior.

MATTHEW PRIOR TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: Dec. 1760.

“I am indebted to my good Lord Manchester for two or three letters, and it would be unreasonable if I did not take the opportunity of Mr. Chetwind's return to tell your Lordship what I know of the state of things here. That we shall have a new Parliament is (I think) certain (at least as far as I can see into the matter); what sort of a Parliament it may prove, I cannot anyways foresee, but it is said there never was so much work as at present in securing parties and bribing elections. Whig and Tory are railing on both sides, so violent that the government may easily be overturned by the madness of either faction. We take it to be our play to do nothing against common sense or common law, and to be for those that will support the Crown, rather than oblige their party; and in order to this, men are preferred who are looked upon

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to be honest and moderate in this number (whether with reason or not, time must decide). We comprehend our Lord-Keeper and our new secretary, Lord Rochester and Lord Godolphin, are in the Cabinet Council: the latter is at the head of the Treasury; the former (we take for granted) is to go Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, though it be yet a secret. The two companys are to be brought to an agreement (if possible), and Mr. Montagu's being made a peer (we take for granted) may contribute to this union since, being in the House of Commons, he would make an ill-figure if he either declined to support the vote, or should find too great an opposition in his endeavouring so to do. As to the great affair, I presume the king will wholly defer it to the Parliament, and act conjointly with their consent; which I take to be the only method. All that I can say more on that head is, that I take it to be happy for the king that the will is preferred by the French at a time when everybody was peevish against the Court (though with what reason God knows) about the treaty. Count Tallard makes a foolish figure here: I do not know as yet what he says to the king on this occasion; but everybody observes his Excellency to be very melancholy and desponding, and one may judge he has reason to be so as to his own particular concerning the part he has been made to act, however his country may in general approve their monarch's breach of truth and treaty. This, I think, is the present figure of our affairs, which I am glad to write to so good a friend as my Lord Manchester, though, to most of the world here, I am of opinion that to say least is to do best. Your friend, my Lord Jersey, grows very much a minister and is in a fair way of being. As to my own affairs, I have a great many friends that would set me up for Cambridge: I know I shall find great opposition from Mr. Hammand's party there, and great trouble in case I should throw him out from those men who will

never be satisfied, let me act as I will or can. If your Lordship thinks it convenient, I know you will not refuse me your letter to the University. My Lady Sandwich is gone to Hinchinbroke, I hear, in order to set up Charles Boyle against Mr. Wortley Montagu's interest at Huntingdon. Vive la Guerre, whosoever is chosen or cast out, or on what side soever things turn. I am most truly your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

“MAT. PRIOR.

“Though I am no longer in a Secretary's office, venison would not poison a commissioner, and does are now in season, which may be useful to inform Mr. Woolaston of, when next your Lordship writes to him.”

A poet looking after such material things as venison, is simply, in Prior's case, a poet looking after that which he loved, at least, as well as he loved poetry; and doubtless a Kimbolton doe suffered for the gratification of Prior's appetite. Of too much gratification, on the other hand, a peer was supposed to be dying. In a letter from Vernon to Lord Manchester, dated October 1700, it is said, “My Lord Bradford came to town on Saturday last; he is something better, but he can't yet recover his stomach, which is no good symptom in one of his age.” But Frank Newport, descended from the Bishop of Chester of that name, contrived to live on till 1708.

Meanwhile, referring to an “*on dit*,” in France, Vernon adds:—

“ . . . I can't imagine what they propose to themselves at St. Germain's by reporting the accounts of King Charles and the Duchess of York's dying Catholics. I know not what use it may be of abroad, but it will do them no good here, and, therefore, when those papers are public, I hope your Excellency will send over a good parcel of them by two or three

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succeeding posts; and if your secretary would direct some to any of his acquaintances that are out of the office it may not be amiss. Some people need convincing, or having their memories refreshed, as to the religion Charles died of."

But we shall learn more both of St. Germain and St. James', the intrigues and intriguers, the honest people and knaves, by following Lord Manchester himself to Paris, after looking in at Kimbolton.

CHAPTER V.

FROM KIMBOLTON TO PARIS.

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ON the accession of Earl Charles to the title, the ancient residence at Kimbolton appears to have been thoroughly put in order. An inventory of what it contained in 1687 will enable us to see what progress had been made in furnishing a mansion, after a lapse of some forty years. This inventory makes no mention of the Queen's Chamber; but there is a "Duke's Chamber," which is probably the old apartment of Katharine of Arragon, now abundantly rather than sumptuously furnished, as a bedroom, and possessing among other adornments, "five picktures in fframes." The "Long Gallery" no longer appears, but we find an "Upper Gallery," with "six large picktures, four little picktures, and two lanskips;" and a "Lower Gallery," in which are "ten small head picktures, and three small lanskips." The "Chappell Chamber" is now a luxurious sleeping-room. The "Chappell" itself is amply provided with silk and embroidered cushions, whereby sinners might be rendered as little miserable as possible, with "coate of armes belonging to the ffamily," and "crest and crownet," to mortify vanity. "The strangers' seat for gents" consists of "two formes and an embroidered cover, two cushions, and four old Comon prayer bookes." Two of the daughters of the late earl have left their names to rooms; in "my Lady Catherine's chamber," the couch is hung round with "four purple cloath curtaines, embroidered and lined with yellow sarsnet," covered with "one yellow sarsnet

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quilted counterpane," and flanked by "one chaire of rich silk," and "two yellow stooles"—the superabundance of which colour must have been disadvantageous to the complexion of the future Lady Catherine Edwin, when that beauty opened her eyes on the dazzled world, of a morning. In "Lady Ellinor's Chamber," we find "the room hung with four peeces of imagery tapestry," and the bed furnished with "four sadcullor cloath curtaines, lined with blew;" near it is "one little tabel with a carpet of green bay's," and altogether there is a nun-like aspect in the room, not inappropriate to the bower of a young lady who was destined to acknowledge no lord of her hand and heart.

My Lord himself, the father of Earl Charles, slept beneath an "Indian-quilted counterpane," within "yellow damasked curtaines," while no less than "three elbow chaires of yellow damask," have arms open to receive him, and stools of the same bright hue are ready to support his feet. My Lady, on the other hand, reposed in a "room hung with six peeces of haire called silk-watered moehaire." If one may presume to look further, we see drawn around my Lady's bed "six moehaire curtaines garnisht with Irish stitch and fringe, and four Irish stitch slips all lined with white watered tabby," with counterpanes "suitable to the bed"—the upper one, Indian, kept down by "four guilt lyons' claws." The remainder of the furniture might have found place in the sleeping-chamber of a queen. In all the bedrooms, indeed, there is a profusion of all needful furniture, and, indeed, the same remark applies to the whole mansion. There is an evident increase too of "picktures," since the days of the last inventory; and some of these are named. In the Great Hall, where gilt chairs and cisterns abound, there is "one pickture at length, the Earle of Warwicke," with "one of Sir Edward Hatton," "one of my Lady Coleraine," and "one of my Lord Chamberlain's first lady," the merry Susan,

daughter of John Hill, Esq., of Warwickshire. Of my Lord Chamberlain himself we find a portrait in the great dining-room; and in the ante-room to the drawing-room, a very noble company "in large frames," comprising, "the Earl of Northumberland, his lady and child, in one frame; the Countess of Bedford; the Countess of Manchester; the Lady Thimbleby and her sisters, in one frame; the Lady Izabella Smith; the Countess of Manchester and Lady Rich, in one frame; the Countess of Sunderland (Sacharissa), the Boare's Head," and "four Italian peeces." Then we have, "picktures in small frames—King Charles I. between two lanskips; and his queene between two lanskips, Esquire Rogers and his lady, with a lanskip between; the Earle of Northumberland, and Lord Holland, with a lanskip between." In the "little waiting-room," near the great hall, a room hung with "sadcullor bayes," are means of amusement, "one pair of tables, table-men and boxes; one chess board and men, and one bord to play at fox and gouse." There are no books noticed at all; but the wine, "strong and small-beer sellers" indicate a variety in the beverages to be quaffed in the dining-room or the servants' hall. The rooms, tapestried with the work of Sedan and other foreign looms, must have worn a stately appearance. The Castle Gatehouse has now only a semi-serious aspect. There are muskets there as of yore, and brass and iron wall-pieces; but therewith "ninepins and bowl," and "shuffle-board tables and frames" are in the little hall, for all who are disposed to play; while "in the bricke hall," amidst a miscellaneous deposit, are registered—"two brass guns, a great deale of old armor, head, back, and breast peeces, . . . churns, trunks, old chairs," and a great deal of other lumber. The offices are full of aids to make life a particularly pleasant thing, indicating abundant good cheer and refinement, and even including "seven dozen of flaxen napkins for the steward's hall"—luxuries

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which the gentlemens' gentlemen and the upper Abigails there assembling at their repasts could, without doubt, thoroughly appreciate.

When this inventory was taken, the Earl Charles was yet a bachelor. He kept a solitary state at Kimbolton (when not otherwise engaged in bringing about the Revolution of 1688 and establishing the new order of things) for half a dozen years. What leisure he could have had for the pleasant pastime of wooing, it would be difficult to say; but, that he accomplished this with good success here, is a most authoritative assurance.

The following document is so far of interest, as it refers to the marriage of the earl, from whose papers, when ambassador from William III. to Louis XIV., there will be found ample extracts in a succeeding page. The year 1690 was an eventful one to this nobleman, seeing that in it he wooed and won the second daughter, and one of the co-heirs, of Lord Brooke, and was at the side of William at the battle of the Boyne. The subjoined certificate of the marriage seems to have been delivered to the newly-married couple on the day after the union:—

“These are to certify all whom it may concern, that the Right Honourable Charles, Earl of Manchester, and the Honourable Dodington Grevill, of Bremer, in the county of Southampton, were married in the parish church of Hale, in the county of Southampton, according to the liturgy of the Church of England as by law established, on Thursday, the 26th of February, 1690, by Mr. Richard Owen, clerk, curate, &c. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, this 27th day of February, in the year above written.

(Signed) “RICHARD OWEN.”

With this couple we now proceed on that mission entrusted to Lord Manchester, whose instructions have been printed in a preceding chapter.

The correspondence from which this narrative is framed is, with very rare exception, on Lord Manchester's side only. We learn at once from it that Lord Manchester was busily engaged in serving his royal master, long previous to his recognition as ambassador from the Court of England, by a public or private reception at Versailles. It was a part of his duty to watch the agents of the English Court at St. Germain, and among his earliest communications to the official secretaries are items of information concerning the "Intelligencers," as those agents were called. In September 1699, he writes:—

"There is often several of little note comes to St. Germain; and one, George Mills, living at the sign of the Ship, in Charles Street, Westminster, keeps a victualling-house there, came hither near three weeks ago. He says he brought letters from 14 parliament men. He is still at Fontainebleau, where he expects his despatches for England; and I believe I shall know when he goes, and which way.

"Mr. Thomas Johnson came also, and went soon away for England. He keeps the Cook's Arms, a victualling-house, near Lockett's. He is a sort of factor for Colonel Bignan, and has 20*l.* per annum. Mrs. Evans is gone for England. She saw King James and the queen; was introduced by Birkenhead. It is believed she brought and carried back letters. She is the wife of Peter Evans, hair-merchant in the Old Bailey."

In other cases, the portraiture of the person is given with more elaboration than in a passport. One Berkeley, who brought letters to Lord Drummond, Lord and Lady Perth, and other Scottish courtiers waiting on King James and his fortunes, is described as "a short, thick, brown fellow, aged about 28, with a large mouth." His mission was to inform the lords in the

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exiled English Court, of a design formed for "debauching the army," in Scotland. The design was attempted to be carried into action by seducing some dragoons from their duty. "One Lieutenant Ogilvy," says Lord Manchester, "is a great manager in that affair. He is in Lord Tiviot's regiment." He was, however, not the sole manager of treasonable designs against William. An ex-quartermaster of horse, in King James's service, one John Coeburn, is spoken of as "another deputy" bringing letters from the Earls of Trequaire and Hume. Coeburn was "commissioned from the whole party of the south of Scotland." He must have been an agent of some respectability; for Lord Manchester describes him as "now governor to Lord Seaton, whom he introduced at Fontainebleau, to kiss King James's hand."

From this time to the close of the year, items of information of a similar nature succeed each other with rapidity. At one time, the English Court is warned against a dubious personage named Clarke, *alias* Father Cosmo, who "is going to England, it is said, with some character from the Duke of Florence to protect him. He is very well acquainted," adds the equally well-informed ambassador, "with one Cockburn, a goldsmith living at Round Court, in the Strand, and will probably go to him, as soon as he arrives." While directing the attention of his Court to that locality in the Strand which is now as little known as the cook's paradise, Poorridge Island, and the thieves' rookery, the Bermudas, of which Round Court was a part, at the north-west side of the then narrow highway, the ambassador turns from tracking men with an *alias*, to point out the way whither men of greater note are betaking themselves.

"The Duke of Brunswick," he says, "in his last journey, prevailed with the Pope to pay K. James's arrears of 32,000*l.* per annum, for four years past of his pension which was stopt on a declaration K. James sent into

England in favour of the Protestants, which was remitted by this Clarke from Leghorn to England. Part of it is to this Cockburn; part to Clapton, a woollen-draper in the city—they do not know the street, but he is rich and well-known; and some to Pate, a woollen-draper in the city. The use of it, it is said, is to bribe Parliament men. Clarke has also brought the current year's pension to Paris, to the value of 50,000 crowns, which K. James has put into the hand of one Innes the priest, and Father Rankie the Jesuit, to be distributed among the needy Jacobites here; 5,000*l.* are given to the D. of Berwick, Lord Melfort 4,000*l.*, Lady Tyrconnell 3,000*l.*, and some to Lord Perth; and 1,000 crowns to Fitz James—he is a monk, but does not wear the habit.”

The Jacobites on this side of the Channel participated in this liberal distribution of funds. One John Wallis is designated as the recipient of a pension paid quarterly, and the better-known Colonel William Grimes, ex-lieutenant of horse in Dundee's army, is named as being paid in like manner, at Edinburgh.

At this period there were two ex-military men, designated as sons of Colonel Grimes, and relatives of Lord Perth, who wore the religious habit in France, after leading rather gay lives at the English court of the Stuarts, and in their service, in England. The elder of these was a Capuchin friar, now named Brother Archangel; the younger was a Trappist of great celebrity, known as Brother Alexis, but not as yet known, for he did not enter the community before the year 1700. The youth of Alexis (a man known in the world and the flesh as Colonel Robert Grimes, or Greme, or according to others Graham), had been a stormy one. In his boyhood he had been whipped by his presbyterian tutor for attending a Roman Catholic service in the Scottish capital. This outrage led to the boy being transferred to the keeping of his kinsman, Lord Perth; but when

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that nobleman's affairs became embarrassed, the scapegrace Robert passed under the guardianship of a gloomy presbyterian uncle, whose household and whose neighbours he scandalised by the licentiousness of his bearing. His career of profligacy startled alike London, Paris, and the whole of Flanders; and when, finally, the prodigal was presented to King James, at the fugitive English court at St. Germain, the royal hand was kissed by one of the most accomplished scoundrels of his time.

After alternations of rioting, religion, drinking, and fasting, the libertine colonel announced his intention of entering the stern monastery of La Trappe. The opposition to this step offered by Lord Perth was met by a hurricane of blasphemy on the part of the repentant sinner, who accomplished his design, and became one of the most ingenious and cruel of self-tormentors in the gloomy abode in which he dwelt. His faith was as that of a child, his obedience that of an abject slave, and his austerities so intense that, in a few months, he may be said, by their aid, to have committed suicide. Before he died, however, it was the fashion for English courtiers, serving either king, to visit the recluse, who often received King James and bevys of ladies in his cell. As the military monk lay dying there, early in the year 1701—eagerly dying, as may well be said of him—the nursing-brother in attendance remarked, “I will pray God to save you!” “And I,” answered Alexis, “will ask Him not to heed you!” His death robbed the English court at St. Germain of some little excitement, and it may be observed of his life that its details furnish the most singular of the biographies published in 1716 as—‘*Relations de la Vie et de la Mort de quelques Religieux de l’Abbaye de la Trappe.*’

A man of another quality and description now appears in the correspondence of Lord Manchester; a man who began life as a gentleman, and ended it as a traitor and a vagabond.

Cardell Goodman was a student at Cambridge, whence he was expelled, for his part in mutilating the portrait of the Duke of Monmouth, at that time Chancellor of the University. This drove Cardell to the stage, in search of the means of existence, but though his talent was considerable, his pay was so small that he shared a room, bed, and a single shirt with a fellow-player, Griffin. To remedy this unpleasant state of things, Goodman took to the highway, the common resort of poor and impatient gentlemen in those days, where however he succeeded so ill, that being taken, tried, and condemned, he would have "swung for it," had not King James pardoned him. The Duchess of Cleveland protected him, furnished him with home, means, and such other favours as she was accustomed to bestow on men who pleased her fancy with much liberality. Goodman, who was "great" in the part of "Alexander" (and who *created* the part of Polyperchon in Lee's tragedy), refused to play the part, unless "my duchess," as he used to call the lady who was anybody's duchess, was in the house. Later, he thought less of doing homage to her; and for bribing a needy Italian quack to poison two of the Duchess's children, he was sentenced to a ruinous fine. From the state of destitution into which he was now plunged, "Scum Goodman" strove to rescue himself by forging bank notes. He then became connected with the Jacobite plotters against the life of William, was concerned with others in the assassination plot of 1696, was admitted king's evidence, and was subsequently by a Jacobite agent, named O'Bryan, carried off, under the pressure of fear and bribery, to France. What ultimately became of this adventurer was not known till the Earl of Manchester sent the following details, in October 1699, to the Earl of Jersey:—

"The best account I can learn of O'Bryan is what he said of himself upon his first coming over, that he

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was always a great acquaintance of Goodman ; that they had often robbed on the highway ; that when he received the news of his being an evidence, he was in custody of a messenger ; that he was engaged with him in the assassination (plot) though none of the others know of it, which made him resolve to get Goodman out of the way. So employing some friends, he soon obtained his liberty. Colonel Ingram came to him and told him that his friend would ruin Lord Ailesbury and Lord Montgomery if it was not prevented, and that those Lords would not spare any money to persuade Goodman to go into France, or to have him carried away by force. This O'Bryan undertook, and Colonel Ingram procured a settlement of 500*l.* per annum, from the two Lords, besides 500*l.* in money. That, with some difficulty, O'Bryan and Ingram met Goodman at the *Dog* in Drury lane, where with fair words, but more out of fear, he consented to go, and O'Bryan never left him afterwards till he brought him to St. Germain, where they were well received ; but having spent their money, and Goodman not finding anything would be done for him, he was dissatisfied ; and lest, when my Lord Portland came, he might go to his house for his protection, as they feared, he was secured where he never has been heard of since." Such was the end of a man who had more ability than principle, and who during his career on the stage was the original impersonator of many characters in the dramas of Dryden, Lee, and Settle, and in the adaptations of D'Urfey, and the revivals of Shakspeare's plays, in one of which Goodman's 'Julius Cæsar' was remarkable for its force and dignity.

After Goodman disappeared altogether from the stage and society, such society at least as was to be found at the Dog, the Rose, and about the piazza, there remained a not inconsolable Ariadne of his who felt well compensated for the loss of her theatrical Theseus by

meeting with a Bacchus willing to espouse her, in the person of the pseudo-Lord Banbury. The lady in question was Mrs. Price, the actress of pert waiting-women and light-principled nymphs, at the theatre Royal, in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The pseudo-Lord Banbury who actually married her, and not only her, but a Mrs. Lester also, was the grandson of the true Lord Banbury, the celebrated law case in connection with whom is worth noticing as an illustration of social life in the seventeenth century. When in his sixteenth year, William Knollys, first and only Earl of Banbury, married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. The bride was then nineteen years of age. She was the sister of Frances, Countess of Essex (by her second marriage, Countess of Somerset), the poisoner of Overbury. Lady Banbury was on terms of great intimacy with Lord Vaux, whom she married not many weeks subsequent to the death of her first husband, when the latter was nearly ninety years of age. After the lapse of a few more years, Lady Vaux claimed the Earldom of Banbury for a youth whom she produced as the late earl's son. Numerous witnesses deposed to the truth of her statements, among which was one to the effect that the boy had been secretly brought up, in obedience to Lord Banbury's especial commands. Before this claim was satisfactorily settled, young Lord Banbury was killed, while travelling abroad. The fruitful mother, however, forthwith produced another claimant, a boy born, as she alleged, when Lord Banbury was eighty-four years of age, and she herself about forty-four. She acknowledged that the boy had gone by the name of Nicholas Vaux, but she positively swore, and of course produced evidence in support of her own allegations, that Lord Banbury was his father. She relied upon the legal recognition of both sons, in succession, on the ground that they were born in Lord Banbury's lifetime, on whom the paternity must

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necessarily rest, unless the impossibility of such a circumstance could be demonstrated by irrefutable evidence. In point of fact, the law did so recognise them, the husband being "within the four seas," when he might have become their father; but the parliament overruled the technicalities of the law, and thus saved the honour of Banbury from being tainted by the bastards of Vaux. Nicholas died in 1674, and was succeeded by his son Charles, the so-called Lord Banbury, the bigamist, who married Mrs. Lester and Mrs. Price, the mistress of Scum Goodman. This matter of bigamy was engaging the public attention before Lord Manchester went on his mission to Paris; and the verdict in the case is still a riddle to that public's descendants, for the jury, unable apparently to decide which lady the would-be peer had married first, pronounced in favour of Mrs. Lester, for no other reason than that *she* had children, by him, and Mrs. Price had none! It could have been none of these who claimed to inherit the title of Earl of Banbury, after the death of his father in 1740. At that period, the title was assumed by his son Charles, born in 1710, an eccentric man who died Vicar of Burford, in Oxfordshire, in 1771. The two sons of the vicar, and finally the son of Thomas the younger of those two, namely the late General William Knollys, claimed to be summoned to the House of Peers, as Earl of Banbury; but in 1813, the house declared that the claim rested on no legitimate ground; and it has not since been raised nor has the title been assumed by any member of the Knollys family.

The Banbury case was only equalled in interest by the Macclesfield case. Gerard, second Earl of Macclesfield, who died shortly after the termination of Lord Manchester's mission to France, satisfactorily proved the impossibility of his being the father of two children borne by the countess, who, on her side, narrated a stratagem she had devised, whereby the disputed

paternity could not be doubted. The stratagem was not unknown in the licentious comedies of this and an earlier period, but no credit was given to it in this case. The law, however, deeming the earl to be accountable, through his own profligacy, for the malpractices of the countess, ordered him to repay her portion to her. With that fortune this lady, who has so long been erroneously accounted the mother of Savage the poet, married Colonel Brett, the friend of Colley Cibber. Their daughter, Anne Brett, was the impudent mistress of George I.

The Earl of Macclesfield, like the Earl of Manchester, was much employed on diplomatic and complimentary missions. He was a man, however, of a very different and inferior quality. His most important mission was that on which he was sent (in such strange companionship with the dissolute Lord Mohun and the rationalistic Toland, whose book, on the Christian dispensation, had been burnt by the common hangman) to present the Act of Succession to the Electress Sophia of Hanover, and the garter from King William to the Electoral Prince George. On that mission the earl acquitted himself with grace; even Lord Mohun contrived to keep sober. Toland, too, conducted himself with decent gravity, and subsequently chronicled the incidents of an expedition, the object of which rendered the whole Electorate of Hanover mad with delight, and threw the administration into fits of profuse munificence long remembered, and deeply regretted, in after times.

CHAPTER VI.

JACOBITES AND WILLIAMITES.

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FROM these illustrations of by-gone court and social life, we may revert to the English ambassador in Paris, who, in his letters, leaving the details of the intrigues of plotters on and off the stage, turns for a moment, and only a moment, to speak of his official reception by Louis XIV., a ceremony which soured every Jacobite heart, for the day. His lordship was received by the king, in private audience, on Sunday evening, November 15, 1699. Of this he gives a long account, but adds with perfect truth, with respect to the ceremony and the verbiage, that "there passed what is usual on such occasions." He had his audience of "Madame" on the same evening. "I went," he writes, "with five coaches, all the English gentlemen, which still increases, and twenty-four in liveries, each of them carrying a white flambeau. I am glad I am coming to a conclusion of these vanities, though I am satisfied it does service here, and makes some very much enraged." Passing from these vanities, his lordship speedily addresses himself to business; recommending the seizure of one Claude, a Frenchman, "who served the late lord Brudenell; . . he is almost every night at the Dog Tavern in Drury Lane. . . . This Claude was much at St. Germain's, and endeavoured to seduce several English thither; but that which will be a better reason for securing him, is for having attended on Richardson, one of the assassins, while he was concealed in the late Lord Brudenell's house, which I am told he

bragged of, when he was here last." Then flying at nobler quarry than a French lacquey, the earl intimates that he is "told that my Lord Barnard, who is now at Montpellier, keeps a correspondence with the court of St. Germain, by the means of Sir William Ellis, who has shown several letters from him; and, as I am assured, has writ back to my lord." Thus did the earl ascertain how these persons were disloyal to King William and untrue to each other.

With the year 1700, comes increase of zeal. Much as the ambassador's time has been hitherto employed in watching over the interests of his master, we shall find him still more deeply engaged in the affairs of agents who were cheating both their employers. The cost of these agents was a sore trouble to King James, and the purchase of their services a matter of some reluctance or haggling on the part of the government of William. "What your lordship says, that the king is not willing to be at a great expense, I am of the same opinion, but a sufficiency for them is necessary; else, nothing of this nature can succeed." There was one agent invariably spoken of by Lord Manchester as "*la personne dont il s'agit*," or "*the individual in question*," whose purchase was a matter of the greatest difficulty, so impossible did it seem to make a mutually satisfactory bargain. The name of this agent, however, seems to have been Bryerley. His treasonable practices had compelled him to fly from England into France, where he served King James, and complained so loudly of gaining nothing by it, as to induce Lord Manchester to believe that the prospect of a more lucrative service in King William's cause might obtain from him some valuable and much desired information. The agent was promised a pardon for all past offences, and a safe asylum in England for himself, his wife and family, if he would betray the master whom he served for gain. Letter after letter describes

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interviews with this calculating agent, who could not be brought to state what price he set upon his services, while he displayed considerable anxiety to discover what reward he was to expect for them from the English government. He was reminded that there was something of value, to men like him, in the fact of his pardon and restoration to his country, and that his return to the service of James was precluded by the circumstance that his betrayal of it was already notorious. These hints were dismissed by the veteran plotter as unworthy of much consideration, and all his care was to know what salary would be paid him for his revelations, or for his evidence in open court against his old associates. To the intimation that he should trust to the royal bounty, and that in proportion to the value of the service would be the amount of the reward, he only returned a disdainful reply; but when pressed to state what his own views were on the subject of compensation, he refused to state anything on that head, insisting that an offer must come from the other side, suggesting that a good round sum would be preferable to fixed wages which might be stopped at any moment, or which he might lose in the event of a successful revolution in favour of King James. Ultimately the unblushing scamp was asked, "if he should not think himself well-provided for, with a pension of 3*l.* a week." Lord Manchester adds: "He did not object much to that, provided he might have over and above such a sum as would keep him in any country, in case by any revolution he was forced to fly, or that the weekly pension should be stopped, but chiefly to make a provision for his wife and two children, saying the reproaches he continually made himself for having drawn them into these misfortunes, and the desire he had of making them some amends, were the chief reasons that moved him to accept of this proposal." A present of three or four hundred pounds "to begin with" was suggested

to him as a good round sum for the purpose, but "this he rejected with great disdain" . . . and "concluded with saying that he would be contented with a pension of 4*l.* per week or 200*l.* per annum, and 2,000*l.* in money to purchase an annuity for his wife and children." For this he promised the money's worth, but Lord Manchester intimates to the king, that he "does not despair of making a cheaper bargain with him."

There was great disinclination to surrender a large sum on the faith of being well served by traitors. Some of the Jacobite agents were notoriously untrue to their own munificent employers. Of one very celebrated man of this class we read: "Father Cosmo has run away with 60,000 livres he had in his hands, and was to distribute to the Irish. They think he may be gone for England, since in any other place he cannot be safe. . . . They had that confidence in Cosmo *alias* Clarke, that the Duke of Berwick lent him his caleche, thinking he would return with it the same day, but he went with it to Leyden, and since they hear he is at Amsterdam." Lord Manchester's earnest desire is to catch this Cosmo *alias* Clarke. "He knows the whole proceedings of that court, so that if he could be taken he would soon confess all, there being no prospect for him to return hither."

While the negotiation with "la personne dont il s'agit" was pending, or being resumed, to come to nothing at last, other agents, among them Sir William Ellis, were purchasing, or seeking to purchase, permission to return to and live unmolested in England, undertaking, as compensation on their part, to reveal all that they knew of what was being done or designed in the interior of the court at St. Germain, and to betray the names and residences of the agents of that court in England. At the same time, officers, in the service of James and in the pay of France, were crossing and recrossing the seas to spy out the land, and to lead

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Scotland, or see if Scotland *could* be led, into rebellion. Money in bills or hard cash was constantly passing also, sometimes for general service, at others addressed to individuals.

At no time was the vigilance of Lord Manchester more active than at this period, when he was engaged in receiving reports of the alleged designs of the Jacobites residing in France, and in transmitting intelligence concerning the machinations, more or less truly denounced, of persons who were supposed to be employed in aiming at the destruction of the life of William. Throughout the summer and autumn months of 1700, these reports became especially frequent, and are occasionally made in a very earnest tone. Either to Mr. Secretary Vernon or to Mr. Blathwayt the following queries and matters of intelligence are addressed:—"I desire to know upon what foot you intend to have a person we call here Brocard, or whether Lord Jersey is to take care of him. Mr. Stanyan can explain this to you." Of this spy we shall hear more presently, meanwhile Lord Manchester has something to communicate touching another sort of dangerous men:—

"Sir Charles Maitland and Major Holmes the assassin are lately come from Scotland. They have been with the late king, and assure him that a party of the Scots are resolved to sit by force, the next day that is appointed (for) their meeting; that the army is well-inclined, by reason they take it that it is a national cause; but that they have no hopes of their General, Ramsay. This Holmes was not long in Scotland, being sent from hence to Duke Hamilton. One Vavasor, a lawyer, and one Burroughs, are come from England on the same account. They pretend they want nothing but money to restore the late King James, and say the Parliament of Scotland will declare the throne vacant, under pretence the King (William) has not protected

them. This Vavasor squints, and is known in England by the name of Fego. I will endeavour to give you notice when he returns, which, it is said, will be soon. You see by that they would be doing mischief if they could, but I hope it will not be in their power.

“They bring this account also, that there is a book in the press against the government, upon account of the late treaty, where all that can be thought to have acted in it are named, and very severely. They intend not to disperse it till near the meeting of the next session, that there may not be time to answer it. This Vavasor says that he has seen several sheets of it. If you could seize some of them, it may be of use.”

Having received injunctions from home to be vigilant in Paris, Lord Manchester again writes:—“I shall certainly take care to watch the assassins; though, at present, I cannot learn what their coming here means. For Colonel Parker, he may have been at Bordeaux, but he has been for some time here, and appears publicly. They all go to St. Germain, but it is said King James does not see them. I cannot think they will attempt anything of the like nature again, unless some desperate should endeavour it alone; besides, I am satisfied at St. Germain they fear the like should be served them. Nevertheless, we can never be too careful.”

Of a new comer to St. Germain, a man with a false name and suspicious character, he takes much notice. Of course, he soon learns all about this stranger, who is the son of Sir William Hope, an officer of high rank in William's service. Lord Manchester keeps his friends at home informed of the movements of this person. “He is not gone yet, though he intended it. He is always with those at St. Germain, and is entirely in their interest. I cannot tell if it is by order of his father, but I should think not, *he* being now lieutenant-governor of the Castle of Edinburgh.” For

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the moment, Lord Manchester is less concerned about the mere agents than he is about those whom he calls assassins. "Colonel Parker is still here (4th August), and the rest of the assassins. If anything was on foot, he would be the chief, but he is very necessitous. I am told Mr. During and one Saunders of Dublin have lent him, on his bond, 100*l.*, which, if so, he cannot get any money from St. Germain; they say he is sometimes in private with King James, but it is in the night; for he does not appear at that court, as well as the others, publicly. Colonel Slingsby has come from England, and has given them great hopes, as also that the king cannot live long." The letter concludes by saying that "One Scudamore, a player in Lincoln's Inn Fields, has been here, and was with the late king, and often, at St. Germain. He is now, I believe, at London. Several such sort of fellows go and come very often, but I cannot see how it is to be prevented; for, without a positive oath, nothing can be done to them." Alluding to one who was of a quality different from "such sort of fellows" as Scudamore, and other players, probably, referred to, the earl adds, "Lord Exeter is come near Paris, and intends to see Versailles, &c., and then to England. I believe he will not come to me. I know it is expected he will go elsewhere. It may be he will deceive them." The truth is, the Earl of Exeter surprised all parties by dying, not many days after the above passage was written. He was one of the peers who declined to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and, since the revolution of 1688, had lived in retirement, chiefly in the country. As a man of genius and learning he was welcomed abroad whenever he travelled on the continent, and we have seen how both the Williamite ambassador and the Jacobite king had their eyes upon him, as he was passing through France, on his last return from Rome. He did not reach England alive, but died at Issy, near Paris, on August 29, 1700,

under the watchful care of his countess, a daughter of the Duke of Devonshire.

Let us add a word here of poor Scudamore, the actor from Lincoln's Inn Fields, of whom Lord Manchester speaks but with scant courtesy. He was a "light comedian," whose name appears among the players at that theatre from 1696 to this year (1700) in which the English ambassador speaks of him as a Jacobite agent. His line included the amorous young knights, the sparkling gentlemen; the scampish beaux, both English and French; the gay and handsome kings, like Edward IV.; and the dashing young heirs apparent, like Shakspeare's Prince of Wales. Scudamore's light grace could not make the dull plays of Mrs. Pix, or the roaring tragedy of Cibber, or the fustian of Dennis, or the magniloquent bombast of greater writers, live. One tragedy only, in which he created a part, has kept the stage down to very recent times, namely the 'Mourning Bride,' Congreve's "favoured pantomime," as Churchill calls it, in which Scudamore was the Garcia. We regret to find Scudamore, in August 1700, playing the Jacobite agent. Loyalty to an ex-king may have impelled him to that course. It is certain that want could not have driven him to it, as, not to speak of the profession in which he occupied a respectable position, he was in other respects a lucky person; as may be seen by an entry in Luttrell's diary, May 28, 1700—"Mr. Scudamore, of the play-house, is married to a young lady of 4,000*l.* fortune, who fell in love with him."

Turning, however, from "such fellows" as the poor actor, we meet with nobler travellers duly watched and registered. "Lord Scarsdale is here, and does assure me he will have nothing to do with those at St. Germain. Lord Kingston arrived also last night." But there is more serious intelligence to communicate than the movements of lords. "I have wrote fully to my Lord Albemarle the information I have received from

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a person unknown to me, of a design on the king's life. The person has promised to go for Loo, and will make it out, in case he is there before Mr. Chetwynd. I have given him a note to you. He says he is a lieutenant reformed, in Colonel Lee's regiment. I take this matter to be worth the expence of an express, though there should not be much in it. If he comes to you, as he has promised, you will judge better of it." The letter, addressed to Lord Jersey, thus proceeds:—

"I have this day (August 12) been made acquainted with a fact, by a person unknown to me, who desired I would meet him in a private place, which I did; he giving me to understand it was a design against the king's life. I am sensible his Majesty will not easily believe it, though I hope your Lordship will take effectual care that none come near him; for though I may be deceived in this matter, yet I thought it too great a consequence to stay till I had made a further enquiry, which I shall not fail to do. The person who gives me this information is one Mr. Daniel Breane, who says he is a reformed lieutenant in Colonel Lee's regiment, in the French service, and was quartered at Bethune, in the way to Lisle. I know there is such a colonel, and have seen him often at Versailles. This person assures me that, at his quarters, one Richard Evans proposed to him to go for Loo, and offered him what money he would, having been long his acquaintance; that he might make his fortune; that their design was to kill the Prince of Orange, as they called him; that the chief power in this design is one William Grimes, who has been in England, and went from thence to Holland. He goes by another name, and has been often near the king; thinks he is now at Loo; he knows him perfectly well. With him is concerned one James Newman and Morgan Mullongon. He says there was one Huggin concerned, but Grimes, fearing he should discover them, killed him at Paris. This design

has been for some time, and they thought to have done it in England.

“He assures me, when he refused to be engaged, that this Evans told him he would lose an opportunity which he would repent, and took leave of him on Monday, he going some part of the way with him, and said he should soon be near Loo. I would have sent him with Mr. Chetwynd, who will deliver this to you, but he pretends he was so well known by the officers on the road that he was afraid to be seen with him, but has promised to meet him beyond Mons, which in case they should miss, I have given him a note to Mr. Blathwayt; as soon as he comes to Loo he will send to him.

“I cannot see he can have any great ends if this should be all a trick; for he has had of me but eight louis, and was resolved, before he spoke to me, to go for Loo, and has promised to set out this night. He tells me he was not very inquisitive in the design, since he was resolved not to be engaged; but when with you he will do whatever is thought proper, and engage with them; that they will be glad to receive him. His expression to me was that he desires the king would hang him in case he did not seize the men, arms, and horses; that these men had no estate, yet lived extremely well. He says, further, that this Richard Evans has a sister married to a Dutchman at Amsterdam, that Grimes was lately at St. Germain, and returned to England. He is a Scotchman, but speaks French so well that he is easily taken for a Frenchman.

“When I asked him where they intended to do it, he said a-hunting, or in a walk where the king goes often. They were desperate, and did not value their lives; yet they thought sometimes of stabbing him. I hope I shall not be thought to be imposed on; but, if so, I am sure it is erring on the right side; at least, your Lordship will judge if the person come to you; in case he does not, it will have that good, as to make you observe who

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comes near the king. Assure yourself there are numbers here that are capable of doing such an action. I am rather inclined to believe this, by reason there is but three or four, and none of those that were formerly in the same design. I had forgot to acquaint you that they never were in so great hopes at St. Germain as now, which I thought was upon the news we have had here that the king is not well; but it may be this is the true reason."

In a separate letter to Mr. Blathwayt, Lord Manchester gives similar details, urging watchfulness on all who approach King William, and adding of the Jacobite lieutenant who offered to betray the assassins:—"By what I could judge, of a sudden he seemed more resolved to go than I was to have him. He is a Catholic, and has served long in France. I think it is proper to make much enquiry about him, till I hear from you; for he pretends he asked leave of his superior officer to go to see his brother, who, he told me, was a priest. This is of so great consequence that I thought I ought to be credulous than otherwise."

Satisfied he had done his duty, and comparatively reassured as to the king's safety, after having despatched his secretary, Mr. Chetwynd, to Loo, Lord Manchester was disturbed three days later by intelligence which he thus communicates to Mr. Blathwayt:—

"I received a letter yesterday, from Mr. Chetwynd, at Valenciennes, that the governor there had stopped him and put him under a guard, though he shewed him my pass, where his name was inserted, and where he was going." This affront was immediately brought to the notice of Monsieur de Torcy, who, of course, was civil, spoke of mistakes, and had the effrontery to assert that all bearers of expresses must carry a pass delivered by him, De Torcy. Lord Manchester's expresses to England were not impeded; and he ridicules the idea of,

previously to despatching an express-bearer, having "to send to Versailles or Marli, where it may often happen M. de Torcy is not to be spoke with. I wish the person that assured me he would set out that night, has not met with the same fate." And from this possible fate of the emissary, recurring to the positive peril of the king, he adds—"I am under all the concern imaginable for the king, having been informed from several, the dark expressions that are used by the most considerable people at St. Germain, that in a little time we shall hear of something of consequence that will make for them ; that the king cannot live a month ; that his body is swelled ; besides this extraordinary joy, they seem to have given me suspicion there is some design against his person, and makes me easier give credit to what I have acquainted you by Mr. Chetwynd."

To pacify the ambassador, ruffled by such an affront as the arrest of his secretary, M. de Torcy took the whole blame upon himself, and promised that such an occurrence should not happen again ; that the ambassador should have blank passes signed by de Torcy, and that Lord Manchester might put in the name of the bearer, and so suffer no delay—"but I fear it will be hard to do ; for the truth of all this is that this court will know the name of him that goes that road, and the time they set out, so they may take what means they think proper."

The ambassador received the following letter on this subject from the secretary, Mr. Blaithwayte, whose name, variously spelt, we shall in future give according to the writer's orthography :—

SECRETARY BLAITHWAYTE TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"Loo : August 24, 1700.

"MY LORD,—Mr. Chetwynd being on his return to Paris, I am to acquaint your Lordship that I have laid

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before the king all the particulars of his being stopped and arrested at Valenciennes. According to your Lordship's letter and his own information, which, with some remarks I have added, is now sent your Excellency, with the signification of his Majesty's pleasure, that your Excellency do make complaint of the affront to M. de Torcy, as a breach of the privilege of foreign ministers, and contrary to the law of nations; since, whatever orders may have been made in France for the furnishing of horses and relays (which ought to have been notified to your Excellency as well as to others), it is most certain the Governor of Valenciennes should have rather civilly excused the stopping your Lordship's secretary for the want of the necessary order, and not have put his person under guard, and forced him from his own lodgings to the guard-house, detaining him there and using him ill, after he had presented himself, of his own accord, to the Governor, and produced a formal pass from your Excellency, mentioning the occasion of his journey in the king, our master's particular service, for which his Majesty does not doubt but the French will give us satisfaction, or expect to have their couriers and ambassadors' servants used just in the same manner in England. Your Lordship will be able to enlarge further on this subject with M. de Torcy, if it be necessary; and have, upon Mr. Chetwynd's arrival, a living proof with you to verify your allegations, which the French can by no means justify.

"We are very sensible, my Lord, there are always designs on foot against his Majesty's person by ill men, who would therefore blind and amuse us with false information, as that may have been which your Lordship has lately received; since, the informer has given no further account of himself. The like delusions has just happened to Mr. Stanley's, from the famous inventor of stratagems, Mr. Fuller, who, after divers suggestions of the same nature, and cheating several persons at Rotter-

dam, is again vanished. However, my Lord, too great caution I say cannot be used where his Majesty's person is concerned, and his Majesty does very much approve of your Excellency's great care on this occasion.

“BLAITHWAYTE.”

In the disturbance which this affront caused him, Lord Manchester did not for a moment lose sight of the Jacobite agents:—“Upon enquiry who have lately left St. Germain, I find one William Davison, formerly a captain in the Scotch Guards, and married to Mrs. Harris, who lives at present in York Buildings;—he has often owned to propose, at St. Germain, to assassinate the king. He is a convert and intimate acquaintance of William Grimes, who is said to be the chief in this design, and is thought to be the same person that was an officer under Dundee, and afterwards commander of the Basse in Scotland. Here is also one Peter Grimes, and his cousin of the same name. I am told he said to one that the king would not live three weeks; the other, answering that the king was perfectly recovered of his late illness, Grimes said,—‘I do not mean he will die by any distemper,’ and so the discourse fell. I am told also that the king is actually dead, which God forbid! and I do not believe; all these circumstances coming from different hands, makes me judge there is some design against his person.”

Continuing the same topic, a day or two later, the earl writes:—“I can assure you that the Duke of Berwick was last Thursday at St. Germain. As to Colonel Hussy, when here with Lord Portland, he did not rely on him; and they suspect him at St. Germain, insomuch that he has a son there which is starving. Burroughs *alias* Procter is gone, but we cannot learn which way.

“Vavasour goes next week to St. Valery, where he is to be taken on board by one Lager, an owler, who lives at Liede. . . . I am told Sir Henry Johnson, the ship-

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builder, is at St. Germain, incognito, and goes soon for England. I have heard often that he corresponds with them, and allows so much a year to several, to be in a readiness, whenever there is occasion. Vavasour, whom I mentioned, did say the same thing. I believe you may find out whether he has been missing. I wish I could inform you more particularly, but it is not possible for me to do so, when men act in that manner; they take care not to be discovered. . . . Seven thousand medals of the pretended Prince of Wales are to be stamped by Rotur, who is here, and sent to Captain Cheney, who formerly lived in Hackney, but is now in some part of Kent. . . . My Lord Lorn, son of the Earl of Argyle, is here, and I have shown him more respect than I have done to any yet. He has carried himself as rudely to me as was possible. I think it not worth while to acquaint you with the whole proceeding, but you will hear it from others. This shows the humour of that nation, though I did not expect it from him."

If not a great man himself, the nephew of a great man is noticed among the Jacobites, in this extract from a letter of the 25th of August:—"We have had here a report that Lord Portland was killed by Lord Paston, with such circumstances, that most gave credit to it; but no letters taking any notice of it from Holland, it is no longer believed. The reason why I mention this is, that it came from St. Germain, and that one Mr. Yarnley, nephew to Sir William Temple, having been privately with the late king, assured him of it. He is since, as I am told, gone for England. It may be proper to enquire whether there is such a person; and if so, he has been doing no good. I could wish I could give you better light in all these affairs, but it is almost impossible, by reason they suspect all about them, and such men are never seen but in the night."

The earl adds something more certain when saying:—

“I am surprised to see Mr. Pitts, a member of parliament for Stockbridge, so much with the Jacobites; and I am assured he has kissed the late king’s hand, as also that of the pretended Prince of Wales. He has been to wait on me, but that a great many do, and will act in this manner. One Lacy, a lawyer of the Temple, is lately come from England, and does the same; he is a Papist, and has always been in their interest.”

On such agents, Lord Manchester kept an observant eye; and in a few days he has something more decided to communicate, touching the honourable member for Stockbridge:—“On Monday, August $\frac{19}{30}$, Mr. Pitts was closeted at St. Germain, and the Wednesday following returned for England, by the way of Calais; as his friend Lacy did, the next day, by Dieppe; and a son of Mr. Caryll’s elder brother, within two days after, by Dunquerque. Mr. Pitts has recommended himself here by making them believe he is commissioned by a certain member of parliament, to come hither and receive instructions in what way King James would have them act for his service in the next session; and I am told he is ordered to propose that the king’s business with parliament should be postponed till the league with France be first considered, as grievances always were before subsidies.”

In connection with an extension of the above movement, his Lordship, in a later passage, notifies the arrival in Paris, from Scotland, of one Maclay, cousin to Sir John Maclay, and Maxwell of Dolswinden. “They bring an account that the national address, or whatever else is for their interest, will be promoted in the south, by the joint councils and endeavours of four lords; namely, Hamilton, Hume, Tweeddale, and Tregwier; and in the north, by Southesk, Marshall, Aberdeen, and Torboth. For ten days together the court of St. Germain received no letters from that kingdom, which makes them suppose the government stopt their pacquets.”

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Notwithstanding the explicitness of the information communicated by the ambassador, and the severity of the law with respect to all who repaired to St. Germain—*not only obscure agents, but men of standing, continued to go over, cloaking their designs in the best way they could.* “Sir Nathaniel Napper and his lady are here,” writes Lord Manchester on September 18. “They both have taken all occasions of going where’er the late king and queen and P. Prince of Wales have appeared, and have had particular marks of civilitys from them. She has done it more publicly than he, and is great with Lord Melfort’s lady. He intends to go soon for Loo, and afterwards to his corporation, which I hope will serve him, as they did the last time. I have observed of late that the English are more barefaced than ever, and it will continue so, unless some care is taken. The argument they make use of to persuade them is, that it cannot bring any of them into trouble, it not being within the letter of the law ; and it may be of great service in case they should be restored, which you may imagine they assure them they will certainly be, and in a little time, as is generally their discourse here !

“I am told there is a sort of an address, lately come from Scotland, signed by Duke Hamilton and a hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen. . . . They assure the late king that they are ready to execute whatever may be for his service, when he shall please to make use of them. It is said the late king, in the last visit which the French king made him (which was the 16th inst.), took notice of it to him, in hopes he would assist him, which he evaded by telling him that he thought his chief aim ought to be upon England, and the more he relied upon his party in Scotland, it would disoblige his friends in England.” Lord Manchester sees a way by which the English government might get fuller information—by entrapping or alluring to England the Duke of

Hamilton's letter-bearer Mair or Mures:—"I cannot tell whether any endeavours have been used to get him into England, though they assure me here that he is capable of discovering the whole scene of Scotland. As for Charnock's paper, it is said by some to be writ by Ferguson; others give out that it is maliciously designed to asperse those of St. Germain's. So that I find they do all now agree that it is not really Charnock's, though at first they declared it was written by him."

The spy system, and the attendant necessary caution and its cost, are finely illustrated in a later letter, in which it is stated:—"As to Sir John Parsons, which you desire to know, Brocard says he went with him to St. Germain's, and Lord Middleton presented him. This must not be said, for you will undo Brocard, if known. He is always pressing me for money. I have let him have what I thought convenient—but one must not give him too much at a time. It was public that all the St. Germain's people were continually with him. . . . I desire you will let me know the character of Sir John Johnson, whether he owns the government; but it is certain they rely extremely on him, here. It may be some person takes that name. They say he makes great interest for them in the fleet." The conclusion refers to the uses of Brocard, the spy:—"I cannot see any other advantage in what I acquaint you from hence than that, knowing men and what is said, you may take your measures accordingly; but to get proof, I cannot see it possible, though I should be glad an example was made of some, especially of those that pretend a zeal for the government, and act otherwise; as I fear there are too many." Exciting the home-government to vigilance and action, he informs them that:—"Mr. Alexander Barclay, about 25 years of age, son to Sir George Barclay, went to England the 23rd inst. His instructions were given him by Innis, a Scotch Jesuit. Sir George himself is again retired to Lyons,

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or thereabouts. All Birkenhead's letters are addressed to one M. Caraut, Rotisseur, dans la Rue de Boucherie, Faubourg St. Germain. I am told it will be of use to have them opened at the post-house."

In a letter of the 27th September, Lord Manchester announces that "Maxwell the assassin" had received an order, by *lettre de cachet*, to leave Paris. "By what means this was obtained I cannot tell." Then, much concerned, as is manifested above, with respect to those who observe a divided allegiance, he writes: "Sir Nathaniel Napper went this morning for Brussels, and does say he will go for Loo. His conduct and carriage here has been very extraordinary, as well as his lady visiting often, and being in public places with Lord Melfort and Lady. The waters at Versailles, though they had seen them before, played last Saturday for them. It was procured by the court of St Germain, the persons before-mentioned doing the honours. None of the English, as I hear, were there, for that reason. All this matter is so public, that I wonder it is not already in the Dutch Gazette; I fear it will be of ill example here." Brocard too was inactive, it would seem: "I have thought Brocard of late a little idle, and therefore have not supplied him with as much as otherwise I should. He promises to be more diligent. I shall never exceed what you mention." This letter ends with a financial operation:—"I am told that Colonel Slingsby, when he returned from England, brought the late king 1,300*l.* from some of his friends at London. He is very zealous in the cause, whatever he may pretend."

This information was probably derived from Brocard. That the opposite party had similar instruments, the following extract will show. It is addressed to Vernon on the 13th October:—"By the description of Le Brun, it must be Father Cosmo *alias* Clarke, who has been famous on several accounts, and was entrusted by

those of St. Germain's ; and when he left this place, which is near six months, it was said he was run away with a considerable sum. In case he has come back, which I shall soon learn, this was only a pretence ; and I believe he has been in England as well as in Holland, as a spy. I did give my Lord Jersey an account when he went from hence, and could he have been taken it would have been of use." But failing Father Cosmo, Lord Manchester recommends the seizure of another agent, or supposed agent. "Sir N. Napper is going for England ; it is uncertain whether by Rouen or Calais, but you shall know. They have been at Fontainebleau, and lodged in the same house with Lord Melfort. I am persuaded he or his wife will bring with them letters. I should think it would be proper, at their landing, to see if there be any. He may pretend what he will, in England, but no man has given more assurances, or has carried it so openly." On the 30th October, he returns to the subject of this alleged recreant knight :—"I have now more reason to believe that Sir Nathaniel Napper carries letters, by reason the way he went was so private. He is after all gone to Dieppe, and I suppose will land at Rye, though in case, as it is said, he has hired a vessel, it may be he will go to some place in the west, near his own house. There is also gone with him an Irish priest of St. Germain's ; whether he will venture for England, I cannot say, though it is probable. He is of a middle size, with a fair complexion, and a healthy look. There was with them one Mrs. Carr as a companion to his lady ; he will be found either with Lady Napper or with her ; most of his English servants he turned away, and has taken French Papists.

"I am satisfied Mr. Scobell and Mr. Duncombe, his friend, are both come hither, in order to serve the late king the better at their return. Besides what Mr. Lewis has informed you of at Fontainebleau, I was told

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there had been a western member with the late king, in private; that when he was asked why their friends were so violent against the Papists, as to promote the passing of such a law as they had lately done, he said the Roman Catholics run so much into the court in all elections, and otherwise, that they did him (King James) so much disservice, that his friends were not able to carry on their designs for his advantage. So they thought it necessary by this way to put a stop to their appearing on the like occasions any more. Mr. Scobell must be the person, and his way of living here is such that none can tell what he does with himself. He is poor, I am satisfied, so the likelier to engage in any design whatsoever. It is said they go the next week for England by way of Dieppe. You will easily judge of the first by his proceedings in Parliament. As for Duncombe, I know not his character, but they say he is a sensible man, and very proper to carry on such an affair. . . .

“Since my letter of the 29th miscarried, I have directed mine under cover to Mr. Yard, that going to a contrary office, if it was done at the Post-House, they would be obliged to open both the pacquets; besides, they being under cover to Mr. Ellis, whose brother is at St. Germain, I cannot tell but, by mistake, that packet may have been sent to him, for by the same post I hear the packet to Mr. Yard came safe. I do assure you, I have no reason in the least, but for the contrary, to suspect Mr. Ellis in your office on any account, but it may be convenient for the future to send them to Mr. Hopkins, or Mr. Yard, as you shall think best.”

On the 8th November, writing to Vernon, there is an allusion to the ignorance of the French as to matters out of France, which is just as applicable now as then. “It is wonderful the many reports we often have here that the king (William) cannot live, and sometimes that

he is dead. I am satisfied even some at court believe the former—I do not mean the ministers; the others, it is not to be imagined how ignorant they are of all things that pass in the world.”

This ignorance extends even to the diarists of those by-gone times. Thus, in the last edition of the “*Mémoires du Duc de St. Simon*,” the famous chronicler speaks of James I., and informs his readers, very little to their edification, that James I. was son of Mary Stuart and Charles I. (which last two had their heads cut off) *and* of James II. who was dethroned by the Prince of Orange! The editor, rightly deeming that this affinity of illustrious personages at the English and Scottish courts requires elucidation, proceeds to render the imbroglio perfectly clear, as he thinks, by means of a genealogical table. In this we find Charles I., James II., and the Princess Elizabeth placed together in one line, as the offspring of James I. “So ignorant they are of all things that pass in the world.”

The closing month of the year 1700 brings intelligence to Vernon of the rascality of some of the professed agents or spies employed by the English court. “I am told,” writes Lord Manchester, “that there is one Conn at Dunkirk with whom you correspond. He acquaints constantly the late king with all that passes between you. I thought it proper to give you this caution. It may be, I am not rightly informed.” Of false agents within the palace itself we have an indication in the paragraph below:—“One Mr. Gordon is lately come from Scotland, and is supposed to be sent by Duke Hamilton and Lord Kenmore. Mure assured one who related it to me, that the court of St. Germain was thoroughly acquainted, by one in the office at Whitehall, with all that passed between Mr. Secretary and him. One Maxwell is ordered to return to Scotland in all haste. He is to address himself there to the Lord Nithsdale.”

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Dunkirk appears to have been the great place of rendezvous for all the agents, true and false. "Mure is gone to Dunkirk," writes the ambassador, "not well satisfied with St. Germain. They do still suspect him, though he has endeavoured to clear himself. I am told he could not obtain any money, which was what he aimed at. Here is one Captain Magrath who married Chancellor Fitton's daughter; since her death he is starving, and would go for England. He has prest that I would write in his behalf, and does say that if he has only a promise not to be put in prison, he will acquaint you with all he knows. He is a man that has lived well, and is upon the point of honour, so that no use can be made of him here. If he is permitted to come, he will give you light into all that formerly has passed and what divisions and fusions there are amongst them; and the state of their affairs at present. I am also of opinion, when there, you might engage him farther; if not, he may be sent back again. He was often with Mure, when he was here. He is a Papist, and has relations in England that will maintain him; and he is ready to take the oaths to the government. I cannot tell but he will venture to go, notwithstanding, for here he is miserable. All the conditions he desires is, that he may live there by connivance, liable to the laws. I am always unwilling to write concerning such men; but when I consider how many do privately go,—and he may do the same; by this means you will know something of him. One, Aldworth, a man of learning, who has been several years at St. Germain (he went there by the name of St. Bernard), is gone for England; he pretends he has leave from the government, which you will know if it is so."

The names of Fitton, James's Irish Chancellor, and of Captain Magrath, his son-in-law, recall to memory one of the curious illustrations of social life, of a rather earlier period, in the famous suit of Gerard and

Fitton. Lord Gerard of Brandon, subsequently Earl of Macclesfield, whose London house and gardens occupied the site of Gerard Street and Macclesfield Street, Soho, was Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Charles II., and Captain of his Guards. He condescended to receive Lady Castlemaine at his mansion, where she occasionally gave much trouble. As Captain of the Guard, Charles found fault with the practice which prevailed under him,—of the deaths of soldiers not being reported, in order that the officers might draw the dead men's pay. Finally, the king gave Gerard 12,000*l.* to surrender his captaincy, which was conferred on the Duke of Monmouth. Both Lord and Lady Gerard were "tale-bearers." The latter, a French woman, used to carry stories of Lady Castlemaine to the queen; and Charles, in consequence, dismissed her from attendance on his wife. His lordship was equally busy in circulating scandal against Clarendon. He was a fine dresser and an indifferent gentleman. On one occasion, he accused one Carr of running from his colours. Carr was acquitted, but for presenting a saucy petition to the Lords against Gerard, he was condemned to stand on the pillory, to have his ears cut, and to suffer imprisonment.

Lord Gerard had an uncle, Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth, Cheshire. Sir Edward, being childless, entailed his estates on a kinsman and namesake, one William Fitton, who succeeded; William's son, Alexander, followed his father in the succession. When Sir Edward had been dead nineteen years, at which time thirty years had expired since the confirmation by him of the entail, by deed poll, Lord Gerard produced a will which, as he swore, his uncle Sir Edward had executed, as his last testament, in Gerard's favour. A long and anxious litigation ensued, with much perjury on one side, and probably on both sides. The deed poll was upset by Gerard's principal witness, Abraham

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Granger, who deliberately swore that he himself had forged the name of Sir Edward to the deed, under menace of violence on the part of the Fittons. The deed was, accordingly, declared to be a forgery, and judgment was given in favour of Gerard, at this time Earl of Macclesfield. "Hearing this decree pronounced," says Roger North, in his "Examen," "he rose up and went straight down to a shop in the Hall, took up his Lordship's" (the Judge's) "picture, paid his shilling, and rolling up his purchase, went off, desiring only an opportunity, in a better manner, to resent such an eminent piece of justice."

Subsequently, this domestic drama assumed a new development. Granger, to the universal surprise, came forward apparently voluntarily, and made confession that when he swore he had committed a forgery he was guilty of perjury. He was now, however, altogether discredited, and the decree in favour of Gerard was confirmed. Alexander Fitton, Granger's supposed instigator, was condemned to the pillory, fine, and imprisonment, but he effaced all consequent disgrace, in the next reign, by turning Roman Catholic. After this conversion, James nominated him to the office of Lord Chancellor for Ireland, and created him Baron Gawsworth. It was his lordship's daughter who married Captain Magrath, the Jacobite agent, of whom semi-starvation was now making a Whig. A few years later than the period of which we are treating in Lord Manchester's letters, the Gerard-Fitton property brought great calamity to the families of its possessors. It had fallen to two heiresses married respectively to the Duke of Hamilton, so often named in these pages, and to Lord Mohun. A dispute connected with a law-suit then being carried on by those antagonistic families, led to the savage duel between the duke and the baron, in Hyde Park, in which there was more murder than fair fighting, and the two adversaries perished by each other's hands.

CHAPTER VII.

SPIES AND INTELLIGENCERS.

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LORD MANCHESTER frequently complains that the management and watching of the agents of the two courts, of England and St. Germain, formed the most troublesome part of his mission. On the 29th December 1700, his lordship thus writes to Vernon, mingling affairs of his own with affairs of the state, but willing to sacrifice the former, if he can better serve the king by devoting himself to the latter :—

“However the king intends to dispose of me, I must beg his Majesty’s leave to come to England, though only for a month, or less, to settle my own affairs, which I assure you are in great disorder, and may be a considerable loss to me. My steward in the country died about six months since, and he that I have at London is so ill that he can do nothing. This I do not propose till it is convenient, and my absence will not prejudice his Majesty’s service, which I shall always prefer above every other consideration.” Turning then from private business, he proceeds to deal with that which gave him so much concern and trouble—the agents real and pretended, whom the necessities of the times brought up :—

“I see you have passed the fifty Louis d’ors. As to that person, I found him settled here, and laying him totally aside may be of ill-consequence, for it may be in his power to hurt, though I fear he can never do much good; at least, since my being here, I have never learnt anything of him; he always says there is

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nothing doing. What I have now acquainted you is from other hands. I am sensible it is not much, but the care is the same, least anything should happen of consequence. It is the most troublesome part here.

“One Williams that carries and brings the letters from St. Germain to Paris, the last week as he was going with the letters that came from England (for they come to them regularly every post) was set upon and never heard of since. They are under concern, and think it may be by order of the French court, or that he is gone himself to England, in order to be considered there. This is all at present I know of. As to Captain Magrath, he proposed going to England long before Mure came hither. He may be his friend for aught I know, but having other business to think of then, I only kept him on. If it is thought proper, I intend to discourse him very fully before he knows he may go, and accordingly I shall act and give you notice.”

Early in February 1701, there were perils more apparent, and definitely spoken of, than those hinted at or invented by subordinate agents. The following is from a letter to Vernon :—“Lord Middleton was last week with the ministers, to know what part they would have the late king act, and whether they would not assist him with troops for Scotland, &c. They are preparing to set out numbers of privateers, and several private persons have already subscribed nearly thirty millions of *livres*, for that end. . . . I have yours of the 24th, and shall endeavour to prevent, if possible, Boselli's going for England.”

A few days later, the ambassador adds to the notice of intended invasion, warnings concerning the threatened assassination of the king. “You will see by the information of one Butler, which I have enclosed, who pretends he can make out a design against the king, and take the persons. He is known to you, and by his own confession has broke prison. It is a little since

he left England, and he has been about three months at St. Germain. He came to me on the 13th, and since I have made what enquiry a matter of that nature would admit of, and have been lately often informed that some have offered to undertake such actions, so that it gives me more reason to believe him; and for the gun he talks of, others have agreed in that it is more to be feared in this conjuncture than ever. He pressed mightily to go for England, where he did not doubt but to make it out. I told him I would send him, by a messenger which I had here, which he agreed to. I cannot see what end he can propose in all this, unless robbing the messenger, so take his letters; but care is taken to prevent that. He desires nothing of me, and the expense is but little to send him, which I have given the messenger money to do, so that if he comes you have him in your power; if otherwise, some enquiry may be made whether there be such persons as Thomas Moor who lived formerly in the Temple, James Salvin, master of a ship that traded from Dunkirk to England and Scotland, &c. I asked the name of his kinsman; he told me it was Mr. Lowan, who I believe will hardly own him, though he may know him. He has had some dealings about Conyers with Mr. Newton. I have been informed that one James Braine, an under officer in the Irish regiments, did offer to Father Saunders to go for England, and get into the king's stables as a groom, and so take his opportunity when the king was a-hunting; but it was rejected. In short, there are villains enough here capable of such an action, but I do not doubt but care is taken not to let unknown persons come near the king. I think, in a matter of this consequence, one cannot be too credulous, for I fear such designs are still on foot."

The following document, full of plots and plans of assassination, is endorsed "The Information," being

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that which one Butler, a spy, laid before the Earl of Manchester. Some of the details are in the last degree curious :—

“The present Pope having sent King James his picture, with a present, after his Inauguration, to express his zeal for his cause, sent him word he should be the first should receive his fatherly care; and, to let him see nothing should be wanting to stir up the Catholics to do their utmost to serve him, he sent a Plenary Pardon to whatever person or persons should, by any way or means, work the utter destruction of the Prince of Orange and his party. This was told me by Father Saunders, a Jesuit and King James’s Confessor, who asked me if I could not invent or devise, some way or other, to be serviceable in so meritorious a motion. I answered, I had escaped very desperately a late imprisonment for life, and I hoped he would consider it a thing impossible for me to be seen in England and not be immediately clapped-up, so that before any opportunity might be found, I might be secured, and so both deprived doing what was required, and undone into the bargain; so I was dismissed that time. A little after, I was sent for to his chamber, where he asked me if I had not a kinsman that was in a post could be serviceable? He had heard that I had one in such a place who was about the Prince of Orange, as might easily put a pass in his plate. As to that I answered, my kinsman was a man, to my knowledge so true to his trust, that it would be an impossible thing to debauch him. He answered, I did not know what money and advancement might do; and if I would propose it to my relation, he should have what gratification he would demand, and what was very considerable beforehand; but if the thing took effect, he should be promoted to what place he pleased; and, for his assurance, if he had any friend in France he could entrust, he should have what security

he pleased. This being very much urged to me, I answered, it was a thing impossible for me to effect, either with my friend, or alone, and so was dismissed that time. A little after, one Mr. More, a Yorkshire gentleman who has resided for some time at Dunkirk, came to St. Germain's to King James, with proposals of a project that might do great service ; it being a new-invented gun that would execute its charge, 150 yards, without any noise, fire, or smoke. This experiment was proved before King James, on the north leads of the Castle of St. Germain's, next the gardens, one morning, nobody being suffered the while to enter the garden ; and a very small number, not exceeding five, were with the king upon the leads ; namely, the king, Duke of Albemarle, Father Saunders, Mr. More, and myself ; Mr. More being my old acquaintance, and having been formerly concerned in several experiments with me, spoke to the king of me, and therefore it was I was admitted. I saw the gun perform the length of the leads, which pleased the king so well, that he said :—

“‘ What mischief might not any man do with such an engine !’

“‘ Aye !’ answered Albemarle, ‘ such a thing as this would do the Prince of Orange’s business.’

“ Says Saunders, ‘ Had we but a man that had the bravery to undertake it !’

“ Says More, ‘ An’t please your Majesty, I’ll get you one shall effectually do it,’ naming one Salvin, a kinsman of his. Whereupon Salvin was sent for, and he received the eucharist to perform it the first opportunity, having the assurance of the Pope’s plenary pardon for his soul, if he happened to lose his life in the attempt. So there was joined with him one White, an Irishman, and two others, Pritchard and Williams, and Mr. More’s eldest son, who is now in England, and an Intelligencer to the court at St. Germain's, being the person they are to

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have recourse to when they should arrive in England ; he being a man that formerly lived some considerable time at the Hague, having great acquaintance in the court of England, is the person to find them an opportunity to execute their intended villainy against King William, which I hope by God's help timely to disappoint. In order to which, so soon as I heard they were arrived at Dunkirk, in order to transport themselves, immediately I went to Paris to the English ambassador, and gave him this information; offering withal to surrender myself to be sent to England to do my utmost to prevent the said design, notwithstanding my present circumstances, together with my reception, might seem much more easy to me. "WM. BUTLER."

On March 2, Lord Manchester regrets the difficulties that are in his way, when endeavouring to ascertain the truth of these plots, and of all other matters: "All letters are here opened, or at least it is thought so, and people were afraid to express their real opinions on paper." A passage follows, in which assassination projects and the Hanover succession seem to be brought in odd affinity:—

"What his Majesty mentions in relation to our own succession, if done, will certainly prevent in some measure any ill designs against his person or the princess (Anne); but at the same time, were they here no otherwise engaged, it might produce no good understanding, since it takes away the pretensions of Savoy, and consequently theirs. I do believe they will take no notice of it to me now, but I assure you, on the death of the Duke of Gloucester, they were very uneasy, till they were satisfied the house of Hanover were not in the Act of Settlement."

The Informer, or Intelligencer, as a spy was then euphoniously styled—Butler, was probably sent to

England according to his request. On March 5, the ambassador writes to Vernon :—"The person is now in your power, and if he does not make it out, you may do as you please with him. I cannot think it is his own invention, for what advantage can he hope from it? But he may have possibly heard some such discourse. I have made enquiry after those names, but cannot hear of any such persons, only More at Dunkirk. It is true, most at St. Germain's have several they go by. I am glad the letter of Lord Melfort has fallen into your hands, certainly it will open people's eyes in England, and those that seem to doubt they have such thoughts here, have reasons of their own for doing it. The only hopes at St. Germain's are now, to be restored by a French power in a short time, and the intrigues they have had in Scotland are too apparent to be doubted. The expressions you mention that are in the letter, must mean what was found in the packet of Jolly, which he grounded on the reports that were at Paris, and it went so far as to say that there was a design to poison the King of Spain. This shows how little the French court trusts any of them, else they would have been better informed."

Glancing from this subject to the "Intelligencers," his lordship states :—

"They begin to come again from England to St. Germain's. One Almer, the name he goes by here, is lately come with letters. He was carried down to Romney Marsh by one Baker, a carrier, and thence over the sea by Abraham Cretwick, an owler. One Mr. Bruton, a gentleman of some estate, as also Captain Arnold, is come. I am sorry I cannot give you a better account. I find it harder to do than ever, by reason they all expect to come soon for England; but I do not doubt the way we are now in will disappoint them once more.

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The late king was yesterday taken ill of an apoplexy, but is now better."

The letter of Lord Melfort's, alluded to in the above despatch, was the famous letter of a foolish person who has left but one existing memorial of himself in England, in the name of "the Cross Bath," in the city of healing waters. Lord Melfort, like his brother the Duke of Perth, was one of James's converts, buffeted at times by Montagu's wit. When Mary of Modena repaired to Bath, in expectation that results satisfactory to the nation as well as to herself might be obtained by using the waters, Lord Melfort erected, in the bath used by the queen, a cross of pure white marble, with the device of the angel moving the waters of the pool of Bethesda. This memorial of the royal visit was removed at the Revolution, but the name which it conferred on the bath survives. Lord Melfort was intolerant in power; weak, meddling, and dangerous to his own party in adversity. A letter addressed by him to his brother, the Duke of Perth, was intercepted and carried to King William, who laid it before the parliament. It states, among other perilous matter and dark suggestions, that there existed a very powerful party in Scotland, that they were prepared to rise for James, that the assistance of France would not be withheld, and that it was the intention of James to establish the Roman Catholic religion in England. The publication of this intercepted private letter and the loyal resolutions passed by parliament after both houses were made aware of the contents of the letter, were of great advantage to the cause of William. The course taken by him, however, appears to have given umbrage to France. The Jacobites in that country were manifestly "ruffled," also. On March 9, Manchester writes to the Secretary:—

"I had not yours of February 10, till I came from Versailles, where I found a courier of M. Tallard's was

arrived the day before, with the resolutions of the parliament, and a copy of Lord Melfort's letter. The conference I had with M. de Torcy was much the same you had; his discourse turning to much of the same nature—that the exposing this letter was only to create animosities and to excite the nation; that it showed a desire of breaking with them, that he had sent to Lord Melfort who was with him that morning, who did own to have writ a letter of that date, and that it was lost, which, he believed, gave occasion to the framing of this; that he had mentioned in it something about Mdme. de Maintenon, whom he had seen about his own private affairs, but denys most that is in the letter; as for that of the Bishop of Norwich, he could have no grounds to say it, since he hardly knew him, and was satisfied of the contrary; and for Lord Arran, he was convinced he was not in King James's interest, that he was rather setting up for himself, having some pretence to the crown of Scotland. In short, I found his opinion was that it only framed a design to incense the nation to break with France, &c.; that I was sensible the little credit Lord Melfort had at this court or at St. Germain's. He read me the letter, and also the paper cried about the streets, of a new plot or conspiracy of France against England.

“The answer I made him was that by my last letters I had some account of this letter; that, as much as I knew of it, I did not in the least doubt but it was Melfort's thoughts, and writ by him; but, at the same time, I was satisfied the French court was far from taking such measures; that as to the communicating it to the parliament, that if he knew our constitution it was impossible to do otherwise in this conjuncture, when there was never known greater preparations, both by sea and land, than were actually making now in France, which was no secret, nor did I believe there was any desire it should be so; that he must forgive me if I

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thought he was not so despicable a person, since I saw him often at court, which, here especially, was no sign of it, since men of that character were not permitted to approach so near the king; that not having yet my letters of this last post, I could not say what effect it had caused in England, but my opinion was still that it was far from desiring a war, neither could it be our interest, unless we were obliged to it for our own security, and consequently that of Holland. I also took notice of that expression of the discovery of some treachery of the king, my master, was supposed to be guilty of, which I could not understand, unless it meant the extravagant reports that were at Paris of letters found, that my servant brought from Madrid, who had the misfortune to be drowned,* which I did not doubt but he knew very well the substance of 'em, and was convinced of the contrary. I told him also that the proceedings of the Viceroy of Navarre, in opening the letters and sending them to Madrid, could not be any ways justifiable, since he could easily see they were directed to a public Minister residing at the Court of France. He did own he could not tell the meaning of that expression, since the king was far from having such thoughts. He seemed not to know anything of those letters, but that he had heard of this accident, and condemned very much the opening of them; that for the papers cried about the streets, I did believe it was not done by order; that they printed what they pleased in England, though, if the persons could be discovered, they were liable to be punished. By reason it is not sent me, I am still of opinion that it is such a paper as we have often in London, but I assure you it makes more impression here than the letter, which, I find, endeavours are used to make it believed it was forged, only to serve a turn, as they say has been the custom at the beginning of parliament. This, consequently, must reflect on the honour of his

* Mr. Jolly, his Lordship's Master of the Horse.

Majesty ; and I did venture to say to M. de Torcy that, in case it could be supposed such, I did not doubt but I might produce the original, if there was any occasion.

. . . I happened to come a little later than usual, yesterday, to Versailles. The whole court had it that we had declared war ; when they saw me it soon put a stop to that report. I am glad to see the parliament goes on so well that we need fear nothing ; and I hope to see things carried on our side as high as others do, which is the only way to procure what we aim at."

Three days later, Lord Manchester writes :—" They do now begin to believe Lord Melfort writ the letter, for he in a manner has owned it ; besides, Lord Middleton is so treated that his party is glad enough of this occasion to ruin the other. What the Court of France will do with him is yet uncertain. He went to St. Germain, but was refused entrance into the Castle, and, I suppose, will not be seen at Versailles."

The Court of France relieved all uncertainty on this point in less than a week. On March 19, the ambassador informs Vernon—" Lord Melfort was ordered to Angers par une Lettre de Cachet ; yet some will have it he has had underhand assurances to be restored when affairs will admit of it."

The unlucky bungler was thus disposed of, and, says Lord Manchester, on the 23rd :—

" I am happy enough, notwithstanding the difficulties we have been lately under, to retain some credit at Court, and I have no reason to complain of my reception there ; if by this means I can serve his Majesty, I will have my end. One end attained was an expression of the conviction of the French Minister that the letter laid before the English Parliament was written by Lord Melfort. M. de Torcy told the ambassador that ' his (Lord Melfort's) wife had owned it with an excuse ; the confusion he was in, and it being read to him in French,

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made him (Lord Melfort) think there was something added, but that he since found it otherwise. Thereupon he was banished.'

"The use I made of this," remarks the ambassador, "was to show M. de Torcy that those suspicions they had, that it was done in order to inflame the nation against France, could no longer remain." The same letter has a reference to some minor agents of the Jacobite cause: "I am told one Leigh, a reformed officer, and Cranburne, son of the assassin, are gone to Dunkirk; and that Colonel Parker is missing." Early in April, we have this notification of the activity of the spy system—"Having this opportunity by Sir Lambert Blackwell, I send you the copies of some letters that have passed through my hands, through the means of Brocard, who has of late been more diligent, and I have supplied him, from time to time, with money, else there is nothing to be done with him."

The Jacobites about the English Court, or in the parliament, exhibiting some apathy as to their "late king's" prospects, were excited to action by suitable monitions:—

"I am assured that there are sent often from this Court large instructions which are communicated to the Members of Parliament—those they call here 'well-inclined to a peace,' and so, consequently, for the good of their country. They insinuate to them that the French king has no design against England, neither will he ever promote the interest of the Pretended Prince of Wales, unless the nation shall approve of it on certain terms, and conditions; that their liberties are in danger if they ever admit an army again in England. They also acquaint them how all Europe is for France, and what treaties they have made."

Lord Manchester then notifies the probable presence in London of a French Jacobite agent, a M. Poussin,

who had served the King of France, as a spy, in Italy. "It is not long," he says, "since he disappeared from hence; whether he appears publicly I cannot tell. It is thought, if there be occasion, he may assume a character from the French king. This is so nice a matter that, if I had it not from one who can have no interest to deceive me, I should not take notice of it."

Occasionally mysterious persons appeared in France, and Lord Manchester was perplexed in determining whether they were agents of St. Germain's or St. James's. Thus, on the 25th of May, he writes:—"I think it convenient to acquaint you that one Captain Campbell, formerly in Lord Lorn's regiment, is come from England. He set out on Friday the 29th from London, and was on Sunday noon at St. Denis, where he stayed till the next morning. It is more to be suspected at this time by his expedition, and I know it is usual to receive what packets do come for St. Germain's at St. Denis, but especially now they (King James and his queen) have been at Bourbon. You may inform yourself of the secretary of Scotland; it may be he comes by order, which, if so, it is well, for rely on it, this Court could not act so as they do, considering their circumstances, had they not hopes of our divisions both in England and Scotland. I cannot tell what is the meaning; of late none of those letters are come, and H., to whom they are writ, is surprised at it."

In a postscript to a letter otherwise of small interest, the following "curious" couple are introduced—the attendants of one Court desirous of "looking in" on the other:—"My Lord Montgomery and his lady are come from Ghent hither, and remain incognito. He sent to know whether he might wait on me, which I could not refuse. He said it was the curiosity of his wife, and he took this opportunity, now the Court at St. Germain's was gone, and he intends to leave this place

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before they arrive. It may be so, since any correspondence possible that is carried on now comes here safe, especially from Flanders."

A lady of greater celebrity than Lord Montgomery's wife is incidentally mentioned among the Jacobites, whose activity was, however, arrested by the ill condition of James's health and the uncertainty which prevailed. On the 9th July, Lord Manchester informs Vernon—"I am told that Holmes and Handford, two of the assassins, are gone lately for Holland. The former speaks very good Dutch. They can have no good design. Mr. Richard Bagot is coming from England, and is to be Groom of the Bedchamber, in the room of Colonel Slingsby, deceased. I have enclosed an account of what has happened to Lady Grosvenor here. I should think her relations should be informed of it, and at least her estate, which is considerable, preserved for her children. She has been entirely in with them, at St. Germain's, and is lately returned from Rome."

As the health of King James declined, there were some of his followers who became desirous to be permitted to return home, and, as they professed, to live at peace with the Court at St. James's.

"One with whom I correspond," writes the earl to the secretary, on July 22, "desires the enclosed may be delivered to Mr. Johnson, who was formerly secretary of Scotland, where there is also a letter to the Duke of Queensberry. The matter is this: Captain Johnson, brother to Lord Annaldall, and one of those captains in Dunbarton's regiment who, at the Revolution, marched with the regiment into the Isle of Ely, which you cannot but remember; and since that time has continued at St. Germain's, would willingly obtain his Majesty's pardon, and have leave to return, which he hopes by the Duke of Queensberry to do; or to be recommended into the emperor's service. He, as there are several others, would be glad to leave this place, having little

to subsist on. He has opened his mind to this person, and would have had him gone for England, so that he was forced to promise to send it, and that it should not light in any other hands, but as directed; so that I must desire you will take no notice unless it is mentioned to you. He does not know that this person is in any ways concerned with me.

“I have had several proposals that in case his Majesty should recommend them to the emperor, there are numbers of Irish officers would quit this service, and I do not doubt but in Italy, where there are four regiments sent, but they would go to the Imperialists, had they the least encouragement—and, it may be, without it. As they are all Papists, they are sensible they cannot serve his Majesty; besides, after what has passed, it would not be very advisable, which makes them propose the service of the emperor. The Irish have been so ill-treated that they resent it as much as they dare. There is one Dicks, the name he goes by here, and keeps an eating-house, but can hardly live, is gone for England, and is soon to return. He went with Phillips, who formerly belonged to the Duke of Shrewsbury—I think was his valet de chambre—by Dieppe, and so to Rye. I am told the former carries letters from St. Germain. I should think it would be well to send to Phillips to come to you, and in case he denies there is such a person come over with him, you may be sure there is more in this matter, and that he is also concerned. He comes often here under the pretence of buying things. This Dicks says he is a Protestant, and comes sometimes to my chapel. He came over with the late king, and has continued ever since, so is liable to the Act of Parliament. I am of opinion, if you met with him, you would soon discover what he was about.”

Vernon adopted this suggestion, and looked after the Jacobite eating-house keeper who was half starving.

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His liability to the Act of Parliament has reference to the enactment, whereby English subjects and others, owing allegiance to William who had gone over with James, or resided a certain time at St. Germain, were not permitted to establish themselves in England. What Vernon heard of, or from, the poor Jacobite Dicks, is not very clear, but Lord Manchester writes to the secretary, in August:—

“I have yours of the 24th past. As for Dicks, I have reason not to believe what he says; but it cannot be of any great consequence; if that was his only business, he would have mentioned it to me, and not gone away as he did. You will see, we shall soon have him here again. There is such sort of fellows that goes and comes every week. I do believe part of their business is to run goods from France, at Rye; and it is well if some officers of the custom-house there do not encourage them.” In a subsequent letter referring to these suspected or negligent officials, the writer says:—“If at Rye the custom-house officers were diligent in searching the persons that come over, they would find a great deal of lace, and also packets of letters, that being the way they are conveyed.”

This is the last notice taken by Lord Manchester of the Jacobite Intelligencers who were accustomed, with great daring, considering the penalties to which they were exposed, to oscillate, as it were, between the Court of St. Germain and persons who resorted, without rendering a truthful allegiance, to the Court of St. James's. The ambassador, however, mentions both to Mr. Blathwayt and Mr. Vernon, the Count Boscelli, already named, to whom some mystery seems to attach itself.

To Mr. Blathwayt, the ambassador writes, August 26, 1701:—“I do believe you must have heard of Count Boscelli, who has been sometime in the Bastille. M. de

Torcy does say that he is there on his Majesty's account, and has several times, and very lately, asked me, if I had any orders, they would willingly give him his liberty to return to Italy, but will not, unless the king agree to it. There does not pass a day but some speak to me in his behalf, as they are continually soliciting at the court. They tell me they have had advice from England, that his Majesty does not concern himself in the least, and presses me to say as much to M. de Torcy, which I cannot do unless I have such directions, for I do not know how that matter stands, nor what his Majesty's intentions are. He (the Count) does protest to be innocent of those accusations against him, and will retire to any place that shall be ordered him. You will oblige me in letting me know what answer I shall make."

No instructions were forwarded to the ambassador, "which I am sorry for," he writes on September 2, "and must now acquaint you that Count Boscelli has made his escape out of the Bastille, with the new invention of a ladder, which is supposed came from Italy. As far as I am yet informed, this court has had no hand in it, and do seem to be very much displeased. They have imprisoned his mother, wife, and one of his sons who came lately from Italy, and have sent couriers to all parts to stop him. I cannot tell where he will be able to go, unless into Germany."

On the 10th the subject is renewed, in a letter to Vernon. "As to Boscelli, I must do them the justice that they have had no hand in it, and the manner of his escape does plainly show it. The machine, he left—which a great many are curious enough to see; his mother, wife, and son are in the Bastille. His man, who attempted to follow him on the same rope, but was taken, is in prison. There is also a postmaster, for giving him horses, without an order; he is gone for Italy, and M. de Torcy believes they shall take him.

"I was allowed a pension of 1,500*l.*, free from all

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charges, when I was ambassador at Venice, to commence from Michaelmas, 1708, of which I have received 2,000*l*. So at Michaelmas, 1710, there remains due to me at that time 2,500*l*., which I have left thus in case of death, etc. "MANCHESTER."

Of the disposal of this sum there is no account; leaving, therefore, prisoners at large, and pensioners expectant, we turn to subjects of a more domestic and lively interest.

CHAPTER VIII.

FAMILY AND FASHION.

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AMID affairs connected with politics, or matters of what the French would call "high police," Lord Manchester enjoyed little opportunity, or inclination, to narrate the floating scandal of the day, tell anecdotes illustrative of social life, or enter upon discussions of his own domestic arrangements. Occasionally, however, instances of all these are to be met with. Perhaps, the most interesting is in reference to a family circumstance which nearly concerned the earl, namely the birth of his first son in Paris, in the month of April 1700. Shortly after this event, he concludes a letter on foreign affairs of no great importance, in these words: "I must beg the favour of your Lordship" (the letter is addressed to Lord Jersey), "if you think it not too much presumption, to assure his Majesty of my most humble duty, and the great obligation it would be, if the king would do me the honour to christen my son. If I have the honour, the Duke of Grafton will be the other, with my Lady Sunderland." Of the Duke of Grafton we shall have occasion to speak presently. The Lady Sunderland here mentioned by Lord Manchester, as going for the young Lord Mandeville, affords a good social illustration of the times in which she lived. She was the Lady Anne Digby, daughter of the Earl of Bristol. She had been wooed by, and affianced to, Robert the third Earl of Sunderland, of the Spencer family, who (according to Burnet) professed the Romish religion, in order to gratify King James. The

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celebrated earl was as versatile in love as in politics. He broke off his engagement with Lady Anne Digby, for no particular reason, but with a request that whatever it might be, he should not be asked to give it; and when the arrangement had reached this point, he renewed his addresses to the lady and married her after all! Their son Charles was the fourth Earl of Sunderland, a learned man who loved learned men, and still more the Lady Anne Churchill, second daughter of Marlborough. Lady Anne became his countess. It was this last earl who formed the noble library of 17,000 volumes, for which, at his death, the King of Denmark offered 30,000*l.* sterling. Old Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough—who cared little for books and much for money—wished the heirs of her son-in-law to accept this royal offer, but they declined to sell, and the collection is now at Blenheim.

When Lord Manchester named Lady Sunderland as godmother to his son, that lady's husband was living in a retirement, at Althorpe, to which he had been driven by both parties in the state, chiefly because he had advocated the formation of a standing-army of 15,000 men; and further, because of the great influence which he exercised over King William. The latter was not at all likely to object to have Lady Sunderland for his "gossip;" nevertheless, the christening was delayed, and, after some weeks, Lord Manchester writes to Lord Jersey: "I was in hopes by your Lordship's last to have heard that his Majesty would do me the honour to christen my son, but I fear the great hurry you have been in has prevented your speaking. I shall stay till the next post, and then take the liberty to give him the king's name, since, by Mr. Prior, you seemed to think that favour would not be denied me."

Again, however, there was delay on one side, and hesitation on the other, subsequently to which the earl writes to Prior: "I am to tell you my wife"

(Doddington, daughter of Robert Greville, fourth Lord Brooke) "lays all the fault on you that we have not yet heard if we may give the little one the king's name, and without knowing positively, I dare not venture. You see what you are likely to draw on yourself, so that at present you are a little out of favour, and will be, unless we hear by the next letters." To this Prior replies from Whitehall on April 10, 1700:—

"MY LORD,—Having written for my master, I have very little to add for myself, except that I am very glad my Lord Mandeville is come to town, and I hope he will stay long with us; I am glad he is born at Paris, for had he been born here, he would have liked living amongst us so little that I question if he would have thought it worth his while to have sucked."

The "next letters" did contain the king's permission, and thereupon was christened in Paris, the city of his birth, William Montagu, who, as second Duke of Manchester, succeeded his father in 1722. The ambassador gives no description of the christening ceremony, in May 1700; he seems to have considered the following religious (and political) ceremony (the confirmation, or first communion of King James) of more interest, at least to the ministry at the English court:—"On Thursday," he writes, in a letter dated May 22, 1700, "was a great day here. The Prince of Wales, as they call him, went in state to Notre Dame, and was received by the Archbishop of Paris, with the same honours as if the French king himself had been there. After mass he was entertained by him, and your Lordship may easily imagine, all the English that are here run to see him. I must confess I am sometimes surprised to see things of this nature so often done, considering the situation of affairs at present."

Fashion and curiosity were too strong for them, and

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at church, or abroad, English visitors congregated naturally to gaze at the disinherited heir. Meanwhile, however satisfactorily Lord Manchester may have fulfilled his office, the Treasury was unpleasantly dilatory in forwarding him the means to keep up the hospitalities of his great office. There is reiterated complaint of this remissness, but the complaint is made in the tone of a man who knows how to respect himself. In a letter to Prior, he remarks, "I need not tell you I have any thoughts of growing rich. If I do not make my circumstances worse, hereafter, is all I desire."

Meanwhile there was marrying and giving in marriage. "Mr. Fitzjames is going to marry a great fortune, Mlle. Lusan. The father is first gentleman of the Prince of Condé. It has been carried on by the Duke of Maine; and, it is thought, Mme. de Maintenon has brought it about. King James intends to give him the Garter." After this marriage had been solemnised in July 1700, the earl writes to M. Blathwayt, "Mr. Fitzjames, who is lately married, is to be made (a) Duke of France. I suppose she is not willing to trust to his dukedom in England. This king gives him a pension of 20,000 livres, and he is to have an apartment and table from the Duke of Maine, both at Versailles and Paris. All this is by Madame de Maintenon, who is very fond of the young lady."

Later, the earl thinks it worth while to record the fact that "The Duke of Grafton goes towards Italy in a few days." This was Charles Fitzroy's son, the second duke, whose mother, Isabella, daughter of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, brought the Euston estate, in Suffolk, into her husband's family. That husband, the first duke, was one of the sons of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland. John, Lord Harvey, wrote some satirical lines on the second duke, in which he said:—

So your friend, booby Grafton, I'll e'en let you keep.
Awake he can't hurt; and he's still half asleep.

At the period referred to by Lord Manchester, the duke was only in his 19th year. On his return from his travels, in October 1700, he took his seat in the House of Peers.

There were few "illustrious strangers" whom the Earl of Manchester invited to his house, without permission from the English government. "The Pope's Nuncio," thus he writes to Secretary Vernon, in August, "who was the Legate of Avignon, where he has been extreme serviceable to M. Lubières, Governor of Orange, is here, and seems mighty desirous that we should be well together. I have met him often; but I should be glad if with safety I might invite him, sometimes, to my house. Not that I mean either to visit him in ceremony, or he to return it. The last nuncio did often dine with the Dutch ambassador. I believe," adds the vigilant envoy, "I believe it may be of some service, if proper."

About this time, news reached Paris of the dangerous illness of the little Duke of Gloucester, sole surviving son of the seventeen children of the Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne. "I am under all the concern in the world for the Duke of Gloucester," so runs the post-script to the above-quoted letter, "which will please at St. Germain, for they were never in so great hopes as now." On the little duke dying, there arose a question of fashion connected with his death. On August 18 the earl asks the secretary, "first, if my coaches and servants must be in mourning, in what manner I must notify the Duke of Gloucester's death, whether in a private audience of the king, or publickly, of the whole court. If so, I must have letters to them, as I had at my first coming. I am told, for certain, the Court at St. Germain will go into mourning; and they are already preparing. I need not tell you how pleased they are, and confident of being soon in England. There was to have been a great hunting on the plain of

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St. Denis, for the Prince of Wales, in order that the English here might have seen him; but after this melancholy news, it was thought more decent to put it off. Here are great numbers at Paris, and, it is observed, at St. Germain, they see every day new faces who come to make their court there. There are few of note who go; but I find there are some who come to me and go there also."

Early in September, Lord Manchester informs Vernon that he had received letters from the Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark, announcing the death of their son, but, he writes, "They will not be received here unless there is a letter from his Majesty; neither, indeed, can I offer them, without being empowered to do it, either by you or Mr. Blathwayt. . . . There is so much time already past, that I wait with some impatience for your directions, in what manner the Duke of Gloucester's death is to be notified, the rather that I may prevent the discourses of some people, who would have it believed that this court is backward in paying us the respect of going into mourning upon this occasion." In the middle of the month the earl hears from Mr. Blathwayt, "that on this melancholy occasion, all that would be needful was, to put myself and my gentlemen in mourning;" and the ambassador is informed from another quarter, that "there is no orders given to notify the Duke of Gloucester's death, to any court whatsoever." On this, the earl writes to Vernon: "I must tell you, to remove any suspicions that this court might seem not inclined to go into mourning, that they are ready to do it, whenever it is notified to them in form; but they do not take it to be regular that I should deliver the princess's letters without any from the king; for you know, in all audiences I have, my discourse is always in the name of the king, and cannot be otherwise; though, at the same time, I can make a compliment from their royal highnesses. . . . There

has been so much time lost, unless it is generally notified in all courts, in my opinion it is much better to let this matter rest." This opinion, however, was not adopted. On October 2, the earl writes to Vernon:—"I think Mr. Blathwayt might have writ plainer; nevertheless, I have sent to M. de Torcy to desire an audience of the king; and do believe I shall be at Fontainebleau on Monday next. I do find already the late king, who is there, does not like the report of my coming, and takes it to be deferred so long on purpose, and thinks there is some mystery in it. It had certainly been better it had not happened so, for I cannot well stay there, since I should continually meet some of them." On October 8, the solemn audience was had; and Lord Manchester narrates the details with considerable pride. . . . "The king," he says, "expressed himself extremely sensible of the great loss, &c., as is usual on such an occasion; as to what related to their royal highnesses, he concluded with saying he would take an occasion of letting them know the great share he took in their concern. In short, all things went as well as could be desired; and on Wednesday next, the court goes into mourning, which will be the day after the late king leaves Fontainebleau. I have some reason to think my going thither whilst they were there, may have a good effect, for of late the St. Germain's people are so high that they think it is now our time to court them. I find that though they heard a week before I was to come, they could not believe it. I carried myself as if I thought there was no such persons; and my coach came to the great stairs, which is under the late king's apartment there; those that belonged to them were curious enough to see me, but it was also, I believe, no little mortification to them to find where'er I went, all the French making me all the compliments imaginable. I was a considerable time with M. de Torcy, and satisfied him both in relation to the delay and the king's not

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writing. I was forced to lay the occasion of it on the Lords Justices, who, the king thought, would have sent me orders, which was the reason I had not them from Loo, sooner ; this, I hope, they will pardon ; but when things are managed in such a manner, one must make the most plausible excuse one can."

This little affair being thus happily arranged, there died a greater man, whose demise required more of the trappings and the suits of woe than were necessary to illustrate sorrow for the decease of a youthful prince. On November 18, Secretary Vernon is informed that "The court goes into mourning (for the King of Spain) on the 29th, with their coaches and liveries, and the ambassadors are obliged to do the same. This will be a great expence, but it cannot be avoided. I hope the king will order me some of my arrears, for I assure you I am in great want of it." Of this want the secretary seems to have informed King William. The ambassador writes to Vernon, November 27—"I am obliged to you for your care of me in relation to my arrears. I never came hither with the thoughts of growing rich ; all I desire is that I may not make my circumstances very uneasy at my return, which will certainly be, in case the treasury leaves me in arrears."

Meanwhile, death smites another man, more famous, perhaps, in his day, than even the King of Spain. On January 8, 1701, Lord Manchester says : "I am assured M. Barbezieux died last Wednesday. He was taken ill but the Friday before, after a great debauch he had made. Several are talked of to succeed him." Lord Manchester does not further refer to this celebrated French minister, who was the son of the Marquis de Louvois, and possessed his father's masculine beauty, without its sternness. When the humour suited him, he was one of the most graceful and attractive of men. He was brave ; laborious, yet addicted to pleasure, and elegant alike in manners and in language. With the

shrewdness of his father, he had a lively wit, ever varying, yet always in season. He loved the society of women, and especially when no other gallant was present among a bevy of them, all sedulously vying for his good graces. His admiration is said to have been particularly warm for English ladies; but his devotion to the fair sex generally was too frequently at the cost and sacrifice of his official duties. So great was his influence over Louis XIV. that the monarch would occasionally change his hour for the meeting of council, in order to accommodate Barbezieux when he had some orgy in prospect. He enjoyed this influence the more, that he was the creature of Mdme. de Maintenon; and therewith came pride, anger, and arrogance, which purchased him many an enemy. These accused him of malversation, a charge to which his reckless extravagance lent a strong appearance of probability. His wealth seemed inexhaustible, but his means were known to be unequal to that seeming; and it was notorious that his mother, who was exceedingly rich, closed her purse-strings against him. He died, as Lord Manchester has described, but the immediate cause of death is said to have been the repeated and too copious bleedings he underwent at the hand and lancet of the fashionable Fagon.

A patient of more exalted rank had like to have followed him, at a brief interval, and from something of the same causes. On March 23, 1701, Lord Manchester writes: "The Dauphin, on Saturday, at night, had a fit of an apoplexy, which lasted some time, but is now perfectly recovered. I went, as soon as I heard it, to Versailles, and had the honour to see him, as I have had since to compliment him on his recovery. He was in very great danger."

The "Grand Dauphin" survived this attack about ten years; but he lived in dread of its return. In features he bore a close resemblance to his mother, Maria

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Theresa of Spain ; but his manners were those of his father, Louis XIV. His fatness, his gait, his tanned face and red complexion, and his extremely fair hair, gave him an air of frank good humour, which he did not possess. He would have been graceful, nevertheless, but for his diminutive and deformed feet. He was unstable of character, unfaithful to his promises, and singularly cold-hearted. He abandoned his first love—his cousin Marie Louise, daughter of Henriette of Orleans, and consequently grand-daughter of Charles I. of England. Of his wife, a good, but not handsome German princess, he delighted to make an object of ridicule, in presence of the whole court. To women, generally, he behaved with extreme coarseness. His mistresses were distinguished for their ugliness, but then he manifested singular anxiety for the good of their souls, enjoining them to pious observances, much fasting, and healthy castigation. His father, it was remarked, loved him, with his ordinary indifference. He was a great epicure, in this sense, that he rather enjoyed than eagerly coveted good cheer. Nevertheless, he often yielded to excesses, and “the fit of an apoplexy,” noticed by Lord Manchester, was the result of indigestion following such excess. This induced him, subsequently, to observe greater temperance ; but he never gave up his follies. He is reported to have privately married his mistress La Chouin, after the death of his wife. It is more certain that had he survived the attack of small-pox which was fatal to him, and succeeded his father on the throne, “Monseigneur” would have been at least a “roi faineant ;”—but Monseigneur’s son (Louis XV.) proved something worse than that.

In May, there is a brief record of another French but lesser notability. “The Duke de Beauvillier is made Grandee of Spain ; and it is said he is to go thither, but I cannot think it. His establishment here is so great, that unless he is obliged to it, he cannot be of that opinion.”

Again we fall in with death and its fashions—this time touching the king nearly, his brother, the Duke of Orleans, dying in June 1701. The following is to Secretary Vernon :—

“The court goes into mourning to-morrow, for the death of the Duke of Orleans, who was taken at supper, on Wednesday last, with a fit of an apoplexy, and died about twelve the next day. He had not his speech from the time he was taken ill. The king was with him most part of the night, who is extremely concerned. I have concerted with the rest of the public ministers what we are to do on this occasion ; and it is agreed that next Sunday we shall make the king a compliment as from ourselves. I cannot tell yet in what manner this court will notify it to his Majesty. I had my liveries, &c., but must now put all again into mourning, and cannot stay for your directions, since by the end of next week none will appear otherwise. It is yet uncertain on what foot the Duke of Chartres will be, though it is said, by the contract of his marriage, the king consented that on the death of *Monsieur*, the same revenue he had from the crown should be continued him and his children, with the title of Orleans, Guards, &c. ; otherwise he would be looked upon now only as the first prince of the blood.”

On the 15th Lord Manchester notifies to Vernon :—

“It being at last settled by the king, that on the occasion of Monsieur’s death the same ceremony should be observed as was on M. le Dauphin’s, yesterday I had public audience of the whole court, except Madame and the Duchess of Chartres, who were indisposed, so those are deferred till next week. The chief part of the compliment I made to the king was as from myself ; though at the same time, I took notice how much the king, my master, would be concerned, &c. The king’s

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answer was extremely obliging; and said he did not doubt of the king's concern on this surprising occasion. The manner this will be notified to his Majesty, will be by letters which Mr. Poussine will put into your hands. The king will write to his Majesty, in his own hand; so that I desire you will give me the necessary instructions, with such letters as are usual, that there may be no mistake; as also what the princess is to do on this occasion. I suppose it will be soon notified, and the sooner the compliment is returned, it will look best here. The Duke of Chartres has the title of Orleans; but the ceremonial is the same that was formerly."

By July 6, this solemn politeness had been solemnly performed. On that day Vernon is told: "I presented yesterday his Majesty's letters to all this court, with the usual compliments on such an occasion, except the Dauphin, who was at Meudon; and Madame does not receive audience until forty days after Monsieur's death, which then is appointed for his funeral. Their royal highnesses' letters to the king I also presented, so that matter does seem to have passed to their satisfaction." On the 2nd of the following August, what remained to be fulfilled of the official duty was then partly performed. On the 3rd, Lord Manchester writes: "I had yesterday my audience of Madame, where I presented his Majesty's letters with those of their royal highnesses. On Saturday I am to have audience of the Dauphin." Then turning from the formal state griefs of the court, to a very strong grievance of his own, he writes: "I am much obliged to Lord Godolphin; what I desire at present of the Lords of the Treasury is, that they would now pay me a quarter, in case they cannot conveniently do more; it will be some help to me. I may possibly have to leave this place of a sudden, and must clear all I owe, which I assure you is very considerable, as you may imagine by the arrears that

are due to me, as there will be another quarter at the end of this month.”

On August 20, there is another allusion to the Orleans family : “Monsieur l’Abbé de Bois (Dubois) was to wait on me, from the Duke of Orleans ; I have already fully acquainted his Majesty with all that passed. I take it, there will be no great difficulty in obliging him, since the word ‘Monsieur’ is all he desires, and he has all the honours here his father had. I thought it proper to acquaint you of it, and by the Memorial you will see the reasons.”

It was not asking much, the title of *Monsieur*, but in France it was usually the designation of the king’s brother. The Dauphin was “Monseigneur.” King William was disposed to gratify the new duke. On September 7, the earl writes again to Vernon :—“I have one from Mr. Blathwayt of the 28th past, wherein he says that his Majesty is disposed to gratify the Duke of Orleans, and particularly Madame, whereof there need be no doubt if the usage has been as is averred in the Memorial, for the clearing of which, his Majesty had ordered him to send it to you ; and if no material objection be made, I may depend upon his Majesty’s compliance with what is desired by the Duke of Orleans and M. de Torcy. In yours of August 14, you agree he ought to have as much as was given to Mademoiselle d’Orleans, and it will depend much on the manner he is treated in the Court of France, but you could not tell whether it would follow from thence that ‘Monsieur’ should be added to the title of Duke ; now, to clear this matter as well as I can, though you can best inform yourself what has been practised, though I believe there can be no example as to him, I must tell you that the original letters published in the Memorial I read, so there is no doubt of the fact as to Mademoiselle, &c. The manner this court treats him is with all the honours

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his father had. He has a chancellor, a council, an introducer, guards, &c.—only Monsieur was *Frère de Roi*, and the Duke of Orleans is *Petit Fils de France*. It was mentioned to me, in case there should be any objection to the word *Monsieur*, if his Majesty would treat him sometimes in the body of the letter with *Altesse*, I know not if that be not more. I am of opinion if his Majesty should comply with the title of ‘Monsieur’ it would not be singular, for till other crowned heads grant him what he expects, there will be intimation he cannot receive theirs otherwise; and this court was of opinion he ought not to answer his Majesty’s letter, till this matter was settled; but he did nevertheless, with the title of ‘Monseigneur, mon cousin,’ which was thought also too much. I take it that the King gives to the Great Duke the title of ‘Mon Frère;’ and the ceremonial between the Great Duke and the Duke of Orleans will be on the same foot to each other. I need not tell you the consideration Madame, as also the Duke of Orleans, has for his Majesty; and I should be sorry anything of this nature should lessen it. If there still remains any objection, I shall endeavour to remove it.”

The “Great Duke” and the “Duke” above alluded to, were the deceased Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. and his son, the Duke de Chartres who succeeded him, as already has been noticed, in the title of Orleans. They both bore the name of Philip. The father was of short stature, and when yet a small, bright-eyed, dark-haired boy, had the nose of a man and the mouth of a doll. Clever, but shy, he preferred the society of ladies to that of the little lords; but from the former he received no edifying instruction, in his youth. Mazarin ordered the tutors of the fatherless boy to keep him in ignorance, lest he should become wiser than his brother, the king. The result shows itself in his manhood. He could scarcely read his own handwriting, and

cared for little but riotous living. He enjoyed no chance of distinguishing himself, for Louis XIV. refused him, out of jealousy, all military employment. The things he most cared for were, court balls and church bells, particularly when these were ringing for the dead, to hear which he would go any distance. He was twice married; first to Henrietta, daughter of Charles I., a lady whom Louis XIV. is said to have loved, only after she became the wife of his brother. For an account of the embroglio of lovers who fluttered around Henrietta, the reader is referred to the Memoir of that princess, by the lively Countess de Lafayette. The king employed Henrietta to purchase the alliance of Charles II. in his attempt to suppress civil and religious liberty in Holland. The fair missionary took with her a heavy purse and a lightly-principled lady, Mdlle. de Kerouaille, and by means of both, succeeded in her mission. Charles rewarded the services of the French lady, by creating her Duchess of Portsmouth; and Louis recompensed her betrayal of the secrets of Charles, by raising her to a similar rank in France. The Duke of Orleans ceased to be on good terms with his wife after this expedition; subsequently to which she died of poison, her husband consoling himself for the loss by personally arranging the details of her funeral and espousing in her place the swarthy, hard-featured, unclean, honest Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria. The attack of apoplexy which proved fatal to the "Great Duke," as Lord Manchester styles him, was brought on by an unseemly quarrel between the king and himself, with reference to the ill-assorted marriage of the duke's son, Philip, and the king's illegitimate daughter, Mdlle. de Blois. Flushed from the altercation, the duke sat down to supper, with his "ladies" at St. Cloud, and indulged there even beyond his ordinary excesses. As he was raising a glass to his lips, his speech became thick, and his "ladies," who thought he was speaking Spanish,

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as was his occasional custom, laughed at what they could not understand, as if it were a joke. The sight of death soon set them screaming. A few words of sympathy were uttered by Louis XIV., who, an hour or two later, was heard humming the airs of a then popular opera.

The son by whom the Duke of Orleans was succeeded, and who is shown by Lord Manchester to have been so anxious to retain the titles and privileges which belonged to his father, as brother of Louis XIV., was the pupil of Dubois, named, without comment, by the English ambassador. The tutor was the son of a provincial apothecary, and was privately married to his chamber-maid. The younger Philip of Orleans had been stricken by apoplexy, at the early age of four years. He had recovered with no worse result than an impaired constitution and an imperfect vision. He was a profligate from his youth, upwards, but some of his acts, when he became Regent of France, during the minority of Louis XV., show that, however vicious, he was not without ability. His household was established on a more splendid footing than was that of his father, and it would be difficult to determine which of its inmates was the most accomplished libertine, the duke himself, his personal friends, his friends' wives, the younger ladies, or the pages. Like many of the French sovereigns and princes who had their favourite songs, snatches of which they might be heard singing, when not otherwise engaged, the duke's approach was often proclaimed by the sound of his voice gaily shouting a chorus which was characteristic of some portion of his own way of life :—

Du temps du roi Quillemot,
Et de la reine Quillemotte,
On prenait les hommes au mot,
Et les femmes par la cotte.

Louis Philippe of Orleans, the late King of the French, used to speak proudly of “my august ancestor, Louis

XIV.” He was descended in the male line only, from that king’s brother—the aforesaid Philip, who died with the unknown jest upon his lips, in the midst of his ladies at St. Cloud. But, the mother of Louis Philippe was the grand-daughter of the Count de Toulouse, the illegitimate offspring of Louis XIV. and Madame Montespan; hence the august ancestor. “Yes, Dumas,” said he one day, to his secretary, who afterwards became his biographer, and has preserved the anecdote—“to be descended from Louis XIV., only through his bastards, is, in my eyes at least, an honour sufficiently great to be worth boasting of!”

There are two brief and passing allusions, in the letters written in November 1700, to that celebrated statesman, the Duke of Shrewsbury. “I am sorry,” writes the ambassador to Vernon, on the 6th of November, “for the occasion that brings the Duke of Shrewsbury to Montpellier; but I hope I shall be so happy as to see him on his way to Paris; you will oblige me if you will let me know when he sets out.” On the 24th of the same month, Vernon is informed that, “The Duke of Shrewsbury was yesterday at Versailles, to wait on the king, and this morning is gone for Montpellier.”

This duke was the son of that Earl of Shrewsbury whom Buckingham slew in a duel, while the earl’s wife, in the guise of a page, held Buckingham’s horse, and stood by at her husband’s slaughtering. At the date of Lord Manchester’s letter, she was still living, the wife then of George Rodney, son of Sir Thomas Bridges. She was the daughter of Robert Brudenel, second Earl of Cardigan. The Duke of Shrewsbury, for whom Lord Manchester expresses such courteous sympathy, was among the ablest of the ministers employed by William III. Two remarkable women are said to have regarded Charles Talbot with a more than Platonic affection, namely, William’s queen, who

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entertained at least very warm feelings for her husband's ultra-Whig secretary, and Sarah, subsequently Duchess of Marlborough. He was indeed constituted to win female admiration, for he was accomplished, gentle, and seductive, though he had lost the sight of one eye. The Tory Nottingham found at once a colleague and an opponent in Talbot, who was also the adversary of the unscrupulous Caermarthen. Against these statesmen, his political antagonists, he waged vehement war; but he was himself inconsistent; for, after imploring William, it is said, with tears in his eyes, not to carry out his threatened purpose of abandoning England, Talbot secretly entered into correspondence with King James. The gentle traitor was unfaithful to two masters, and he hated his own treason. It was the able and ill-favoured mistress of William, Elizabeth Villiers, who won him back to the service of the King of England, who, the better to secure his fidelity perhaps, by having a claim on his gratitude, elevated him to the rank of a duke. It has been remarked of him that his "wounded conscience disabled his willing service," and that he was driven by remorse as well as illness to surrender office and relinquish home. Abroad, he passed several years of exile and expiation; and was, in an evil hour, induced to marry a strong and wrong-minded Italian countess, who brought trouble to his house, and disgrace upon his name—trouble, for she was an implacable virago; and disgrace, for she was accompanied to England by a dissolute brother. This latter, evilly celebrated in his day, was Ferdinando, Marquis de Paleotti, who (for stabbing his servant) was hanged at Tyburn, on March 17, 1718—a short time after the demise of the duke himself.

An allusion to a Postal Treaty may be noticed here, as being of interest. On March 23, 1701, "M. de Torcy took notice to me," writes Lord Manchester,

“that the sum of 36,000*l.* agreed on by a treaty between us for postage of letters, and was to be paid quarterly, was in a great arrear; that those concerned had writ to Sir R. Cotton, but had received no answer. He hoped I would take some care in it.” That the French government had reason for pressing the payment of the arrears is manifest from a paragraph in a rather earlier letter. “The scarcity of money here is such that you will hardly believe me, and I cannot compare it to anything so like as the want which was in England when all the money was called in. There is none in the king’s treasury; and there is scarce a banker here that can pay 200*l.* Daily we hear of bankruptcies and letters of exchange protested. They give 20*l.* per cent. for money, and cannot obtain it. You must imagine it is extreme bad, when it comes to be the whole discourse of Paris. I would have drawn some bills for England, but the greatest bankers here could not let me have the money; and when I desired to know, if I had bills from England upon some here, whether they would pay me, they said they believed not. This is what you may rely upon. In short, nobody pays, and I am told the law for arresting people is suspended for some time.” The concession to the commercial classes was joyfully shared in by the fashionable world, and there were men in the English court at St. Germain as well as in France, generally, to whom the idea of payment being unc customary and arrest withheld “for some time,” was agreeable in the very highest degree.

But of all affairs, of fashion or of politics, none so excited attention and comment at this time as the matter of royal succession treated of in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

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THE interest which the public once took in the story of the treaty, by which the Spanish dominions were, on the death of the King, Charles II. of Spain, to be divided between respective heirs, who otherwise laid claim to the whole inheritance, is revived by the details in these papers. As an *epigraph* or text to such story, the following quotation from Burnet's 'History of my own Times' will be found applicable, and should be borne in mind : " When the news came to the court of France that the King of Spain was in the last agony, the Earl of Manchester, who was then our ambassador at that court, told me that M. de Torcy, the French Secretary of State, was sent to him by the King of France, desiring him to let the King, his master, know the news, and to signify to him that the French King hoped he would put things in readiness to execute the treaty, in case any opposition should be made to it, and in his whole discourse he expressed a fixed resolution in the French councils to adhere to it."

To render this intelligible, it will be necessary briefly to narrate the circumstance which led to the signing of this Partition Treaty, as it was called.

Charles II. of Spain was, towards the close of the seventeenth century, infirm and childless. There were, however, three claimants to the vast inheritance which then appertained to the Spanish crown in the four quarters of the globe.

The first claimant was the Dauphin of France. His

position in the affair arose thus. His mother, the Infanta Maria Theresa of Spain, married Louis XIV. in 1659. She had been acknowledged heiress to the crown of Spain, till the birth of her younger brother, afterwards Charles II. On her marriage with Louis XIV., she renounced all her rights to the Spanish succession (so averse were the Spaniards from the idea of the possibility of their being annexed to France), and consequently could not confer on her future children rights which she herself no longer possessed. She being dead, her son the Dauphin claimed through her.

The second claimant was the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, on these grounds. As stated above, the elder sister of Charles II. of Spain married Louis XIV. ; his younger sister, Margaret, became the wife of Leopold Emperor of Germany. By the renunciation of Maria Theresa, Margaret became, on the death of her heirless brother, the recognised heir to the Spanish throne. Of her marriage there was one child, a daughter, Maria Antoinetta, who married the Elector of Bavaria. Their son was the Electoral Prince. His mother and grandmother were both dead, but through them he claimed the heirship of the dominions of Spain.

The third claimant was the Emperor Leopold himself. His claim rested on various alleged grounds. As the sole remaining male descendant, in the direct line, of Ferdinand and Isabella, and then as being the son of Maria, daughter of Philip III. The undoubted right of his own daughter, derived from her mother Margaret, he denied, on the allegation that she had renounced the right of succession ; but as he could not pretend that such renunciation had been confirmed by the King of Spain and the Cortes, his own claim had no foundation, save in his own desire to unite Spain and Germany under one monarch. A desire which he modified, by offering to surrender his own right in favour of his second son, the Archduke Charles.

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It will thus be seen that according to the laws of succession, under the circumstances above noticed, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was the rightful heir. The real contest was between France and the German Empire, for power. Louis XIV., affecting to be aware that so vast an increase of power would be very disagreeable to William III., proposed and obtained his consent, and that of Holland, to the first Partition Treaty, whereby the Spanish dominions were to be divided among the claimants. The Electoral Prince was to possess Spain, the Netherlands, and America; Naples and Sicily were to be made over to the Dauphin—that is, to France; and Milan was to be thrown to the Archduke Charles. The treaty was to be kept secret, but William undertook, meanwhile, to obtain the acquiescence of the Emperor.

This arrangement was soon heard of in Spain, where it excited universal indignation, which was turned against England by crafty French intriguers who asserted that it originated with William III., and who laboured assiduously to further the views which Louis XIV. had on Spain. Meanwhile, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria died in 1699, soon after the King of Spain had solemnly recognised him as the heir of that monarchy. Thereupon Louis experienced no difficulty in persuading William to sign a second partition treaty, whereby Navarre, the Milanese, and Lorraine were to be added to the share of the Dauphin named in the first treaty. With this exception, the portion originally assigned to the Electoral Prince was now allotted to the Archduke. This treaty was signed early in 1700 by France, England, and Holland; and there was an affectedly anxious desire on the part of France—who never, from the first, intended to observe it—that it should be kept secret.

“It does begin to take air,” writes the Earl of Manchester to Lord Jersey, March 30, 1700, and Count

Zinzendorf has some notice of it, having discoursed to me of the several heads. I have been far from giving him any light into that matter, only so far, as I have often said when I have found him alarmed at the illness of the King of Spain, that I thought it would be happy for Europe if there could be a compromise, but that it would very much depend upon the Emperor. He said I might be assured the Emperor would agree to anything that was reasonable. I avoided always going any further without orders, though I cannot but see he will be soon informed of the whole matter, whenever it is again proposed at Vienna. The last letters from Madrid are of the 16th inst., and though they seem to say the king is better, yet he often keeps his bed by prevention."

Early in April 1700, the earl writes:—"I forgot to tell you in my last that M. de Torcy said that he understood from England that Count Zinzendorf had writ thither that he had acquainted him of the affair, which, he assured me, he was far from doing. *It may be the same thing he may say of me.*" Subsequently, the earl requested M. de Torcy to let him know when he would mention the treaty to the Emperor's minister, and what measures they intended to take, that he might act conformably to them. "He said he should not take notice of it to him till next Sunday sevensnight; that they should send orders to M. Villars at Vienna, with a copy of the treaty, to communicate it to the Emperor, and at the expiration of eight days afterwards, in case he has no answer, to send back the courier, and to declare this king shall look upon it as a refusal; that, lest it so happened the Emperor might engage the Pope; the French ambassador at Rome is to communicate it also, and to desire it might be a secret; that they also think proper to do the same to the republic of Venice, and will impart it to the ambassador here, about the same time he

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mentions it to the Emperor's minister. As for Spain, they thought it not yet proper. He said they should soon now see the success of this great affair, and the king [William] would have the honour of it; that the French king had all the obligations and interest to wish the welfare and life of our king; assuring me the great concern he was under sometime this winter, when they heard from M. Tallard* he [William III.] was a little indisposed. This, I take, is not unlikely, it being plainly their interest, else I should not easily be persuaded of their good intentions."

On May 19th, we hear that the affair of the treaty had been made known to the Emperor's minister, and that Count Zinzendorf "seemed mightily surprised, and complained much of the proceedings of our king; taking notice how many engagements have been made between his master and him. To which M. de Torcy answered, he thought he had no reason to complain, after what had passed on that subject at Vienna, and that the Emperor had been informed of everything that was now agreed to; that this matter was not of a new nature, for that there had been a secret treaty between the Emperor and France, concerning the succession of Spain, in 1667.† When I saw M. de Torcy he told me all that had passed; and I was glad to hear of this secret treaty, being a good argument to M. Zinzendorf, as you will find afterwards. He soon took notice of it to me, and began much in the same manner. I told him I wondered to see him so much surprised, since, for some time, he always assured me there was some such matter in agitation, and that it was concluded; that if he would consider a little, he would be convinced the king had not only considered the interests

* French Minister in London.

† Count Aversberg was banished for signing this treaty, whereby the Emperor consented that France should have Naples, Sicily, all Flanders, and the Philippines.

of Europe, but in particular that of the Emperor ; that what might be very doubtful and even not very likely to obtain by a war, might now be secured by a peace, if they pleased. He said, what faith could be expected if the Pyrenean treaty and the renunciation that France made was not valid? To which I answered, that I believed the Emperor did not take it to be a full decision in relation to Spain, else he would not have made a secret treaty with France, in 1668, wherein he yielded much more, as I was informed. I then proceeded to show him the situation of affairs, the power of France, the interest they had in Italy as also in Spain, besides, what he had often told me he feared, that the Spaniards would declare themselves for a prince of France ; that I was of opinion he would think this was the only way to prevent it, and that they had it now in their power. Upon the whole matter he seemed much otherwise than at first. . . . He is now apprehensive lest Spain should declare themselves for France, as you will see by the questions he asked M. de Torcy. M. de Torcy has acquainted the Spanish ambassador, and has given him a copy of the treaty. *He* only said that it was a matter above his understanding, but he would not fail to inform his master of it." After noticing other high personages to whom the existence of the treaty was made known, the earl adds, "Your Lordship will judge it will not be long a secret."

The following is a translation of the paper submitted to M. de Torcy :—

"M. the Marquis de Torcy having placed before the Count Von Zinzendorf the agreement made between France, England, and Holland, the Count has, of his own movement, asked for information on the following points—

"1. Will France consent to the archduke entering Spain during the lifetime of his Catholic Majesty?

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“Reply: France consents, on condition that the Emperor accepts the conditions.

“2. Should the Spaniards, within three months, wish to select a French prince, will France, in such case, agree not to listen to the proposals from Spain?

“Reply: Yes; France agrees.

“3. That the cession of the kingdom of Naples shall be so made as to be for the descendants of the Queen Marie Theresa (wife of Louis XIV.) only, and that it shall never be incorporated with the kingdom or reigning house of France.

“Reply: Efforts will be made to smooth every difficulty on this point.

“4. Was there any reason to hope that France would change or modify anything in the said treaty?

“Reply: That the king was so favourably disposed as to be prepared to lend his hand to any arrangement; the treaty not being so constructed as to be unchangeable; provided that there be a common action, in such case, on the part of England, France, and Holland.”

While Count Zinzendorf was deriving what satisfaction he might from the answers of M. de Torcy to his queries, the secret treaty was becoming a matter of notoriety and discussion.

“I have made some enquiry which way it could come so soon public, which,” says Lord Manchester, “happened thus:—The king sent for Monsieur on Thursday last, and informed him of it, even the particulars, and said it was no longer a secret, for he had informed most of the princes of Europe. This was sufficient to make it known, and it was certainly designed so. It does occasion different opinions, though I find the more they consider the better they approve of it. The Italian ministers are the most alarmed by what the French are to have in Italy. With the several ports, it makes them masters there when they please;

but the chief point is that all these places are annexed to the crown of France. If these were to go to a younger son, they say, it might make all this matter easy."

It will have been observed that a query is made in Count Zinzendorf's paper as to whether the French would agree to refuse any election, on the part of the Spaniards, of a French prince for their king. On this the Earl of Manchester, in a letter to the Earl of Jersey, of June 2, 1700, says:—"I find his (de Torcy's) answer went further, and on that query was, 'provided the Emperor within the term of three months, signed and ratified, else they should not think themselves obliged.' This M. de Torcy added in order to leave the Count in more doubts, which he thought was proper at present, though, he said, it was not very likely now the Spaniards would be much their friends; besides this, the king (Louis XIV.) would keep strictly to what is prescribed by the treaty. . . And (adds Lord Manchester) this matter is settled so, I hope, as the king will approve of." M. de Torcy was already acting with a duplicity which an affected candour seems to have concealed from the English minister, who does not appear to have detected a latent sarcasm in a remark made by the French minister for foreign affairs to the effect that "he said it would be very convenient England and France should always act in concert in the affairs of Europe." In a brief note to Mr. Prior, June 5, 1700, Lord Manchester observes:—"You will find our friends at St. Germain will use all endeavours to blacken this matter in England as much as they can, which, I think, will be easily prevented."

The ambassador was correct, at least, in the first part of this observation; and, accordingly, in a letter addressed by him to Mr. Blathwayt, July 26, 1700, is the following:—

"The same persons (at St. Germain) say there is

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going to the press a book, wherein they asperse all the ministry and others who they think had any hand in the late treaty concerning the succession of Spain. There was to be 3,000 copies, and not dispersed till a little before the meeting of the parliament in England, that there may not be time to answer it." Meanwhile, we learn from a letter to the same official, four days later, that "the letters from Spain of the 17th" say "that the great men there are still inclined for a prince of France, that their monarchy may not be divided." Some in that country were not without hopes of yet beholding a prince of their own. "Letters that are come by the way of Navarre," writes the earl, on August 9, "take notice that Count Harrach* has complimented the Queen of Spain, on the hopes she is with child. Her answer was that God Almighty could do whatever he saw good. Most think Count Harrach has been a little too forward to act in this manner, where there is so little reason to believe it."

Towards the end of August, Spain having been disquieted by the intelligence of a treaty whereby she was threatened with dismemberment after the death of the reigning king, despatched an envoy to France, with a remonstrance. "M. de Torcy told me what passed at the audience the Spanish ambassador had some days ago, that the substance was to dissuade the king from proceeding any further in the treaty concerning a successor. That the king, his master, was likely to live a long time; his health was better than ever it had been; that he had named no person to succeed him, nor would he. This king (Louis XIV.) answered that nobody wished more his master's health than himself; that all were mortal; and that he had no other design in what he had done than the peace of Europe." On the other hand, the minister writes to Mr. Secretary

* Minister of the German Empire in Spain.

Vernon, Lord Jersey having retired from the foreign secretaryship in July: "They still please themselves at St. Germain, that the treaty concerning the succession of Spain will make work next session, but in this it is to be hoped they may be deceived."

The Emperor of Germany had not yet signed the treaty when, in September, news reached Lord Manchester that a courier from Madrid had brought intelligence of the King of Spain being so ill, "his phisitions believe he cannot live a week. . . He had received the sacrament and extreme unction; he had taken leave of the queen, &c.; so they despair of his life." Of the intrigues then going on, Lord Manchester seems to have been fully aware, and yet he expresses no distrust of France. "It is certain the whole council of Spain, and even those that were the creatures of the queen who is entirely for the House of Austria, are all entirely for the Duke of Anjou. They flatter themselves that the French king will accept this offer. I hope the emperor, before it is too late, will see it is his interest to sign the treaty." Conflicting reports continued afloat; at length, in October, Lord Manchester has heard that "on the 4th he made a disposition of the government to the queen, with some of the chief of the council, till the prince that is to succeed him is declared, which there is no doubt but is in favour of the arch-duke." Then, letters and despatches of October 9, signed by the king's own hand, in proof of his existence, if not of his health, were received in Paris, where "the greatest discourse is his will, which he signed the 3rd; by all the letters, it is thought in favour of one of the princes of France, and as to the persons concerned, and who were witnesses to it, it is certain they have been ever that way disposed, to prevent their monarchy being dismembered. Some letters do also say that since the queen has prevailed with him to add a council, that some that were named for the regency are changed; at least the queen seemed,

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after that, very easy ; in short these are all conjectures, and I am of opinion that till the king's death, what it contains will not be known. . . . We shall soon see now how our parliament will carry itself in that affair."

On November 3 an express from Madrid, of October 22, brought news that "the King of Spain, on the 21st, made a new will in favour of the arch-duke ; and that he called those who were present and had persuaded him, in his sickness, to make the former" (will) "in favour of the second son of the Dauphin, and showed very great dislike for what they had done, signing in their presence another. This last action has still increased the factions and discontents there." This last will, writes my Lord to Secretary Vernon, "is kept here as a very great secret, and at court there is no mention of it, though I am satisfied that was the true occasion of sending the express. There may be reasons for concealing it, till they see what the emperor will do."

The interest was culminating, and at this juncture, the following letter, addressed to Secretary Vernon, from Fontainebleau, November 9, 1700, becomes of importance : "We have now the news that the King of Spain died the 1st inst., between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. . . . The Cardinal Porto Carrero was declared, by a commission under the privy-seal, chief governor during his illness, and by the testament which they have now opened, is continued. . . . The substance of it is that, whereas the King of Spain was satisfied that the intentions and designs of the renunciations which the late queen of France made, was only in order to prevent the union of the two monarchies in one person, and whereas the Dauphin has several sons to whom in conscience the succession does belong ; he does therefore appoint and declare the Duke of Anjou his heir. In case he should die without children, or inherit the crown of France, then to the Duke of Berry, and if the same case should happen, then to the arch-

duke and his heirs, and he limits it at last to the Duke of Savoy and his. He does also recommend to the King of France and the emperor, in order to continue the same good understanding that is at present, a marriage between the Duke of Anjou and one of the archduchesses. The queen, finding she has no part in the government, has fallen very ill.

“I waited on M. de Torcy who gave me an account of these matters, and I did endeavour to see what measures they intended to take. The king ordered a council immediately. . . I can see they are very well pleased here with all these circumstances; what effect they will have, time must show. Though *I am of opinion they will keep firm to the treaty*, as it is most to their advantage.” In fact, M. de Torcy had repeatedly asserted as much. “But I must now acquaint you,” writes the English ambassador, to Lord Jersey, on November 12, “that there is an end of our treaty. This morning I was with M. de Torcy, who began with saying he did not doubt that I was sensible, since they had the account of the King of Spain’s death, and the disposition he had made by his will, it must have created great difficulties; that the king had well considered the occasion and the intent of the late treaty with England, which was to prevent a war in Europe; that the emperor not having signed, and the Duke of Savoy actually refusing to accept of Naples and Sicily; that both in England and Holland great discontents have appeared against the French being master of those two kingdoms, in relation to their trade in the Levant; besides, that none of the princes the treaty has been communicated to have been able to obtain more than a bare promise of neutrality—the king could not but think there was a necessity of accepting what the will of the King of Spain declared in favour of the Duke of Anjou. You may easily imagine I had little to say when he told me the resolution the king had taken. . .” Any

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other arrangement, M. de Torcy suggests, would have been followed by a war, for the successfully carrying on of which, he blandly remarked, England and Holland had not ships sufficient, nor funds they would willingly spare. He then added, "that the king hoped the strength of these reasons would so prevail with the king, our master, that there might be still the same good understanding as ever, which was so necessary for the good and quiet of Europe. I made no other answer than that I would faithfully acquaint the king with what he had said to me, by order, on this subject." Although Lord Manchester had been persuaded the French would "keep firm to the treaty," because M. de Torcy had so assured him, he now adds, in the letter from which the above passage is taken:—"I did perceive this would be their resolution, but M. de Torcy did not explain himself till this morning. . . . What is to be judged at this court is from their looks; I did perceive, the moment this resolution was taken, the king very civil, but always much concerned when I came near him." . . . "It is without dispute, by the queen's signing, she has been all along in the French interest, whatever she seemed to the emperor's minister;* and if the posture of affairs is considered, as she was hated by all, this was the only way to save herself, and it was so managed that, in June last, the King of Spain signed a will in favour of the arch-duke, which was sent to Vienna, *that* made the emperor proceed as he did. . . . He cancelled that will when he made this of October 2. In discourse with M. Zinzendorf he told me this, who could not believe it possible what he sees now." The treaty had been so unpopular in England, that there had been a design in parliament to impeach the ministry upon it. "All that was concerned in it was, this next sessions to be sacrificed if possible.

* Harach, whom the French intriguers at Madrid "fooled to the top o' their bent."

I am satisfied this was the design; but whether the parliament will approve of this (will) is what I cannot say; but it will appear the king has done all he could to prevent it."

On November 17 we learn how rapidly this affair was being hurried on. "Yesterday, at Versailles, the Duke of Anjou was declared. This ceremony passed in the king's closet, all persons being let in. The Spanish ambassador did homage to him, as King of Spain. He has now the right hand of the king, and is treated in the like manner in everything. He is to set out for Spain the 1st of this next month, and the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry accompany him to the frontier. I did not go, yesterday, to Versailles, M. de Torcy having given notice, by reason there was to be a council, he could not see any of the public ministers; besides, I thought it not very proper to be there when this ceremony was to be. . . I can assure you, at St. Germain's there is great joy. The late king goes this day to wait on the Duke of Anjou. I was last night at Monsieur's, who is at Paris, where I found Lord Melfort, who gave himself other airs than he used to do."

On November 20 Secretary Vernon is informed that "Count Harach, the emperor's minister, at Madrid, has made a protestation against the will, both to the matter and manner where, he says, the king's hand was guided." Then, four days later, after some civil but vain conference with the clever M. de Torcy, he writes:—"I do find they here do expect I should say something in answer to what I have acquainted you and my Lord Chamberlain with, concerning the motives that induced them to accept the will; and I am of opinion M. Tallard will not go for England till they know the king's thoughts on that matter. I must own to you I shall make but a strange figure at court, till I have some orders of that nature. Most of the public ministers have complimented the king on this occasion, as from

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themselves; and some the new King of Spain. In case I have no directions before Tuesday next, I cannot tell if I shall go to Versailles; and if I do not, it may give them suspicions, though there is no reason for it. I met M. Tallard, who says little, but is certainly much concerned at the sudden change of affairs." He adds: "I do not doubt my letters will always now be opened." On December 5 he acknowledges having received instructions, dated November 14: "So that I was not at Versailles yesterday; I had a very good cause, by reason all that go there, their coaches are now in mourning, and mine was not quite done. Notwithstanding, they already say at court, that till I have orders to compliment the Duke of Anjou, I do well not to appear there. . . . The only reflection I shall make is, that they take their reasons to be of such force, that they wonder what they have done is not approved of. The Duke of Anjou is to set out on Saturday next. I cannot tell but it may be still deferred; if so, I shall be under the same difficulties. As soon as he comes to Madrid, he will send the King of France the Golden Fleece, which he will wear as he does the order of the Esprit." Anon comes something like a menace: "They begin to talk here that, for Holland, if they are dissatisfied, the King of Spain ought to bring them to their obedience, as formerly belonging to that monarchy; and if we dispute, the little gentleman at St. Germain is to be made use of. I wish that may not be the consequence at last, though we should act otherwise."

Aware how critical were the times, Lord Manchester again writes to Secretary Vernon:—"I do take care to carry myself as prudently as possible at this juncture, since all persons' eyes are upon me, which I conceive is right, whatever may be the king's resolutions, at last; but it is impossible to prevent idle discourses here. I suppose you will hear that I had asked an audience of the king, and was refused by reason I had not com-

plimented the new king of Spain. There was no ground for it. You know very well I had no occasion of doing it, having received no orders of that nature; yet I am of opinion that might possibly have happened, if I had, and that there will be soon some such declaration as that those ministers whose masters do not own the Duke of Anjou, will not be received here. Their way has always been to carry things high; not that I take they are in a condition of doing it, were other princes united."

In a letter to the same official, of the 8th, adverting to this position of things, Lord Manchester "cannot tell what assurance Europe will have of its security, unless what they say here will be sufficient—that the French king will end his days in peace, and his ambition is now satisfied." Of this satisfaction, Lord Manchester takes leave to doubt. The Emperor of Germany, by delaying to sign the Partition Treaty, had afforded an opportunity to France to act with duplicity to England. "It may be," he says, "of very fatal consequence to England, even almost without a remedy. We are not united enough at home, to expect any great good; and those that disapproved the late treaty will have reason, I fear, soon to wish it had taken place. My being in France has not given me a greater opinion of their security or good inclinations towards us; and I cannot see, let this matter turn which way it will, there is any great occasion now for the king to be at the expense of an ambassador here; neither do I believe M. de Tallard will be long with you." Thence the writer glances towards St. Germain, and says:—"I am told King James should say, upon a report that I had asked an audience and was refused, that I should have, in a very short time, a much greater mortification. I am of opinion, he thinks I shall be told not to come to court. I do not doubt but as they serve me, the same shall be to M. Tallard." As to the messages this French

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ambassador may take to England, Lord Manchester writes to Lord Jersey, on the 15th December :—" I find by some, they pretend they will give all the assurances that can be required, but I take it that we should, if possible, have something more substantial." This was said with good reason, for M. de Torcy had recently declared that, " in relation to the Duke of Anjou, the king was resolved to support him with all his forces, which he did not doubt but easily to do." And it may be added, with all his fashions too ; for, writes Lord Manchester to Vernon, the 22nd of December :—" The Duke d'Ossuna &c. have been here. He is a young man, and his hair was after the Spanish manner ; but they soon made him a beau. Before he waited on the king, his hair was cut, curled, and powdered. It is certain in Spain now, men of quality talk of nothing but being in the French habit." Of this Gallicising process we have further indications in a letter of the 29th December :—" I rather apprehend the ministers in Spain will become French than their king Spanish ; by reason we have hitherto seen they have studied more their own private interest than either their prince or country's ; and Louis d'ors will not be wanting on such an occasion. There is great sums returned already, it is said, for the king's use, but others will find their advantage."

From these high matters of state we must now return to the affairs regarding home and its enemies, with which Lord Manchester was more especially concerned.

CHAPTER X.

ST. GERMAINS AND ST. JAMES'S.

SHORTLY after Lord Manchester's arrival in Paris, as ambassador of King William, he was desired by the head of the English government to clear up, if possible, some apparent mystery which troubled in a slight degree the Court of St. James's. This mystery is spoken of as the Project of the Button. At the end of September 1699, expresses were passing on this subject, between the ambassador and the court at London; but for some time, enquiry into the mystery was made in vain. "It seems to me to be very ridiculous," writes Lord Manchester, on the last day of September, "though it is affirmed to be true; and I am promised to have a full account of it." This account is obtained by him before he despatches the letter, in which the Button Mystery is thus described: "They have invented a sort of button which everyone wears on his coat who engages for King James; wherein are writ in a roll of parchment that is in the button, the first letters of these words, 'God Bless King James, and Prosper his Interest,' which will appear out of the button if turned round by an instrument, made on purpose like a screw."

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No further notice is taken of this harmless project; and the writer, when treating of the hopes and intrigues of the English court at St. Germain, touches on more serious illustrations of the royal life there led, and the expectations there indulged in.

"The state of affairs at St. Germain," he writes,

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“continues much the same ; still pleasing themselves with hopes the nation will recall them at last ; though the greatest prospect they seem to have, the death of the King of Spain, might again renew the war.” To the English court there, or at Fontainebleau, a courtier from St. James’s would sometimes stray, as if by accident. “The Marquis of Montrose, a young man from the academy, came to wait on me ; he told me he was going to Turin. He took Fontainebleau in his way, and was introduced to King James, to kiss his hand. King James has certainly a considerable sum of money ; it is said 290,000*l.* (English pounds). He is in a very good humour, and his emissaries here do all they can to get the English to St. Germain. I am apt to think they prevail most with the Scotch.”

The exiled king’s good humour was occasionally severely tried by the rapacity of his agents, or his inability to purchase or reward their services. There were at this time in prison, in London, accomplices in that Assassination Plot of 1696, of which James was said to be cognisant, and in which the Duke of Berwick, chivalrous as he was, is said to have been an active agent. These men, or their friends for them, complained of being neglected in jail, and urged the necessity of continuing regularly the subsidy promised by the English court at St. Germain to the Jacobites who were doing, or who averred they were doing, their utmost to transfer that court to St. James’s. Thus, we meet with one Alexander Don, who was entrusted by them to present a petition to the Duke of Berwick. The imprisoned Jacobites had been trapped in Don’s house, and it is singular, if Don were not a pretended Jacobite, that such a man should be at large, performing such a service. “They assure the Duke of Berwick,” as Lord Manchester writes to Mr. Yard, October 6, 1699, “that he (Don) is faithful, and may be trusted on all occasions. He is in great want, and has

delivered a petition to the late king, for a subsistence, which is refused, as the late king parts with as little as he can. It may be, some use may be made of him."

This suggestion for employing the agents of the English court at St. Germain's, was frequently acted upon in London; and indeed the more needy Jacobites were frequently heard intimating to the "late king," that if he neglected them, they must necessarily undertake the employment offered to them elsewhere. Lord Manchester thus refers to three obscure plotters who write from their prison in England to the Duke of Berwick, informing him that they have not received from the late king their pensions these six months, "which, if not paid them punctually, they will be obliged to take other measures, though much contrary to their inclination."

But while King James was thus perplexed by his needy followers, he was encouraged and cheered in his foreign home by more noble supporters. Towards the end of October, the earl announces to Lord Jersey the arrival at St. Germain's of Captain Barry, "with despatches from Duke Hamilton, containing in substance that the Duke will engage to make him (the king) a party in the parliament of that kingdom (Scotland) strong enough to break a great many of the forces now on foot there, and to manage the matter so as to leave none standing but what shall be commanded by officers in the late king's interest. Particularly he brings assurances from Colonel Row, who commands a regiment of Fuziliers there, that, whenever there is occasion, he and his regiment will be ready to act for the late king's service. In order to discover Duke Hamilton's intrigues, I am told your lordship has a fit opportunity by seizing one John Maire, a Scotchman, who was his agent at that court for some time, for which he was allowed a pension of 200*l.* per annum, but that being ill-paid, he went into

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England, and having got it settled to his mind, he still continues there, in great confidence with the Duke. It is said you may find him every night at Mills', who keeps the alehouse in Charles Street, Westminster, or else at Mr. Alexander's, the mercer, in Covent Garden."

This "Duke Hamilton" is as much in the thoughts of the ambassador as the "late king" himself. The duke was well known at both courts, and had figured with as much splendour at Versailles as at St. James's. When he yet bore only the title of Earl of Arran, he had represented at the former court, as envoy extraordinary, both Charles II. and his brother James. The earl had even served in two campaigns under Louis XIV. While under suspicion of maintaining a treasonable correspondence with the court of St. Germain's, he was twice imprisoned in the Tower of London, but was finally liberated in 1697, without further prosecution. The eye of Manchester, nevertheless, held him and his agents under strict surveillance. The ambassador hears that the duke has been invited to St. James's, and straightway he writes to the secretary:—"I am told just now, that the king having sent for Duke Hamilton, to come to London, he thought fit to write to St. Germain's, to know what measures they would have him take. They are of opinion that he should not go, but should declare openly in Scotland. . . They think, in case he went, he would be bought off, or else put in prison." That the English court at St Germain's rather distrusted their ducal agent than feared for the safety of his person, is manifest by various scattered paragraphs in these letters. Indeed, both courts appear to have equally suspected him of treachery. Lord Manchester, early in the year 1700, notifies the presence, at Dunkirk, of Captain John Maire, the duke's agent. The ambassador is unable to point out the captain's lodgings at Ostend, but he knows he is likely to occupy them for some time, and he is sure that he may be heard of, by applying to one Creighton,

the confessor of the English nuns in that town. "If he could be gained," says Lord Manchester, "by promise or rewards, or inveigled on board of any English ship and carried over, 't is judged he would be of great use at this juncture." In February, the ambassador learns that another agent of the duke has actually arrived at the court of St. Germain's. This is one Ennis, brother to the President of the Scotch College in Paris. King James had entertained suspicions of the duke's fidelity, and Ennis's business was, "I am told, first, to remove away any jealousies King James may have conceived of the Duke's designs, and to assure him of his fidelity, and then to desire supplies of money, and that some officers, being Scotsmen and Protestants, may be sent to them. I don't know any resolution is yet taken as to the money, but I am told officers will be going thither very shortly, few at a time, and by different ways, to give the less suspicion." Lord Manchester urges very strongly the necessity of arresting the two agents of a duke who, while invited to the court of St. James's, was intriguing with the English exiled court at St. Germain's. From the latter court he further announces the approaching departure of Viscount Kingston, a Scotch peer, about to be "treasonably engaged in Ireland;" and also of Major Maxwell for Scotland via Rouen, with letters of consequence from St. Germain's to "the Scotch Earl of Galway." Lord Manchester recommends that the latter should be apprehended, as such a course would probably be much to the advantage of the King of England; and he adds the names of other agents acting in London against the court there and in favour of that at St. Germain's, and suggests that all letters bearing the names which he transmits, as the real or fictitious names of "intelligencers," should be opened by the authorities.

For a short time the hopes of the court at St. Germain's were excited by the intelligence of the failure of the Scottish establishment at Darien, and the

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consequent unpopularity of the English government when it refused to aid the falling adventurers or to come to the rescue of the shareholders. "I am assured the only hopes they have at St. Germain's is this present conjuncture of affairs in Scotland, by the disappointment of Darien. It is certain they have had under debate whether they should not send some person of note with proposals to the most considerable men there, but they are not come to that or any other resolution." For whatever purpose, we find funds being transmitted from the exiled English court, and Duke Hamilton is again named as one of the recipients:—"Bills for two hundred thousand livres are remitted to Scotland," writes Lord Manchester, in May 1700, "and I am told one half is to be paid Duke Hamilton, the other to the Earl of Hume."

At this period, and since the beginning of the year, the English court at St. Germain's was sensibly affected by the failing health and spirits of the exiled king. "There is nothing at present acting at St. Germain's, King James being not well, and wholly giving himself to devotion and prayers. The wound, which was very large, is healed, but it is thought they have done it too soon, by reason, the same tumours run all over his body, sometimes in his stomach, legs, &c. He is extremely broke, and most are of opinion he cannot recover it; though he may continue some time." Plots seem to have been deferred and intelligencers unemployed for a season, as long as the ex-king lay in this depressed and uncertain state. "I cannot think there are any methods taken at present at St. Germain's, the late king being so ill that he cannot last long, and most I find are of that opinion."

Actionless, but not altogether hopeless, the little English court is subsequently spoken of as resting what small hope they entertained, upon the agitation of Scotland, "and if that fail, all things will be quiet till the

next meeting of parliament. I should think," adds the writer, "that instead of a change in the ministry, if we had a new parliament it would be more for the king's service; not much good can be expected from a last session."

The parliament, it will be remembered, had been prorogued on the 11th of the previous April, on the Commons being on the point of recommending to the king the expediency of excluding all foreigners from his counsels. Speedily after this, the great seal taken from the able hands of Somers was confided to the weak keeping of Nathan Wright; and the retirement of Shrewsbury opened the way to the accession of the Tories. In the last session of parliament to which Lord Manchester refers above, they gained an ascendancy, and were so little inclined to further the views of the king that he suddenly dissolved the parliament, on December 19.

The "little hope" of the exiled court and its followers was decreased about this period by a project designed by William;—that of the legislative union of England and Scotland. "I find the union with Scotland is not liked at St. Germain's, and all endeavours will be used to prevent it, in order to which, one Trotter, about 28 years of age, of a middle size, with a red face (he is the son of him that was hanged for furnishing the island of Bass with provisions), went yesterday for England, and is to go from thence to Scotland. Upon the proclamation concerning seminaries," adds the ambassador, "the late king thought it advisable that several who are here, should leave them, Viscount Dunbarton, Lord Walgrave, Mr. Wharton, Witherington, Browne, &c. They are gone to a private house, till they see what the parliament will do."

Meanwhile, there were many frequenters of the English court who, without feeling any allegiance to that of St. Germain's, were sensible, nevertheless, of an extreme

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curiosity to repair to France, in order to look upon the exiled monarch and his family. In order to afford these visitors an opportunity for gratifying without compromising themselves, attractions were devised to draw them, not to St. Germain, but to Versailles. In August, Vernon is informed that "they are extreme high at St. Germain, and conclude of being soon recalled. The P. Prince of Wales, on Thursday last, was to see the water works at Marly. Notice was given to the English that there they might see him, and several went."

Of the inner life of the exiled English court at St. Germain, Lord Manchester could only speak according to information laid before him by "intelligencers" and others. "They have at St. Germain," he writes on August 25, "very often great packets, and there has been a council where Lord M(iddleton) and Lord Melfort met, though it is thought there are the same animosities as ever between them. Some think Lord Middleton will be declared Governor to the prince, by reason all their friends from England assure them that they shall not be able to do them any service, unless they show some sort of countenance to the Protestants, and that placing Lord Middleton about him may give them a good ground to work upon. It is now resolved that the late king, &c., will not go into mourning, though some of the family may." This refers to the mourning for the young Duke of Gloucester, at the period of whose death such of the conspirators against the life of King William who had escaped to France, were being "openly countenanced" instead of, as heretofore, "encouraged under hand." Lord Melfort, meanwhile, had taken a house at St. Germain, "and is to live there this winter." At this court, a lord mayor expectant was presented, and a very bold man he must have been, though, probably, he little thought that the English ambassador was aware of what passed at this little but not unimportant court incident. "Sir John Parsons, of

Reigate, and his son, have both been to make their court to the late king and queen. He says he hopes to receive them when he is Mayor of London, which he pretends is his right next year."

But at the present moment the court at St. Germain was less desirous to acquire the protection of a future lord mayor than the good graces and generous influences of the King of France. "I find the pension of the Prince of Wales," writes Lord Manchester, on September 18, "much less than was first reported, and I believe he is not to be at Fontainebleau. It is certain at St. Germain they would have the French court take more notice of him; but I am of opinion they will go on as they have formerly done, and no otherwise."

There were ways, however, by which the Stuart interests were to be promoted at home, and one of these is here alluded to. "King James has ordered the printing of the papers of King Charles II., that were found in his cabinet, with the account of his declaring himself a Roman Catholic, at his death, as also the late Duchess of York; and has set his name to justify that they are true copies. He gave them at Fontainebleau to several public ministers. I have it, but it is not mine; but they will soon be common. I will send it you as soon as I can. It is the same, in French, that was printed in England, after King Charles's death. This will do him great service there, I suppose."

With the declaration of the faith in which the last-named king died, there was made assertion of the creed in which the king that was hoped to be, was living. "I cannot tell," says the ambassador, in December, "whence comes their apprehension at St. Germain, that the pretended Prince of Wales will be carried away for England, upon his own consent; upon which, they have increased his guards; where formerly he had six, now fourteen. They also think their game so very sure, that there is no occasion he should make such a step.

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Besides, the changing his religion is what will never be suffered; which they have declared lately than that *that* should be, they had rather see him dead."

On every side the little court, one day elated the other depressed, looked about for straws to cling to, whereby to persuade themselves they were swimming with the stream, and were neither motionless, like fast-moored hulks which only serve to mark the swift course of the passing stream, nor were actually in process of drowning. "The Spanish ambassador was last Monday at St. Germain's," writes my Lord, early in January 1701. "I am told he made a compliment from the Regents,* in general terms, without any letter from them; saying, as he had made no entry, nor was like to do it, he looked upon himself as a private person. This makes them think that he that is coming will have audience of them in ceremony, but I cannot think it."

From France, and Spain, and the Jacobites at home, the English court at St. Germain's turned, most fondly, to that at Rome, in order to obtain thence, power, *prestige*, and pecuniary aid. "The Duke of Berwick is gone for Rome," Lord Manchester writes on January 21, "and Hamilton that commanded in Ireland, with him. His instructions are—to engage the pope in their interest, and to obtain some money, and also a cardinal's cap for the late king to dispose of, which they think, if he is once so owned, it will give him great credit in Europe. At St. Germain's there is nothing doing, at present. They are impatient to see what sort of parliament we are like to have."

The impatience of the English court at St. Germain's was neither long-tried nor richly rewarded. In a letter of February 12, we are told that, "At St. Germain's they do not like the parliament; but they pretend to have such assurances that they do not value it; and

* The Council of Regency in Spain.

that, however matters turn, it will be for their advantage; the Catholic zeal being sufficient to restore them."

A fortnight later we meet with some evidences of this zeal and of its activity. The exiled English court seemed all in a flutter of movement and expectation:—"I hear that orders were sent to Mr. Fitzjames, to go on board his squadron at Toulon. Mr. Johnson, brother to the Earl of Annandale, goes with him, and there is some discourse as if Travannian and David Floyd would do so too. Captain Fenwick, Dowdall an Irish friar, William Creagh, and Mr. Foseen, likewise of Ireland, are all come from England to St. Germain, this week, and are to return in a very short time; as also a son of Cranbury, who was hanged. I will do what I can to know their business, and the time of their departure. I should think all persons should be examined at Dover, and their names sent to you, especially if the information I sent you by the messenger proves true."

That Lord Manchester was not only well-informed as to the persons arriving at, or leaving, the exiled English court, but that even private letters were not altogether sealed for him, is shown by his procuring and transmitting to England a copy of a letter of this nature addressed by the Pope to King James. James is now beginning to be spoken of as fatally ill. "Some think," says Manchester, "he may not recover."

From March 16, the royal progress towards death continues to be duly recorded. "The late king is very ill, having had a second fit of an apoplexy, which was violent, and which has taken away the use of one side of him. He has been blistered, and if he chance to recover, his physicians are for having him go to Bourbon. Lord Melfort is sent to Angers; the court of France first concerted it at St. Germain. Lord Middleton is not a little pleased." With the jealousies of the pervert Lord Melfort, and the obstinately Protestant Lord Middleton, there was some anxiety touching the prospects

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of James's son, in the event of his sire's death. His Catholic orthodoxy did not now appear to be so highly vaunted. On March 19, after stating that the English ex-king would resort to the baths of Bourbon, if his strength would carry him so far, the writer adds:—"The instruction their friends in England have now is to insinuate as if the pretended Prince of Wales would turn Protestant, in order to keep off the blow as long as they can." On March 23 we have the following item:—"The late king goes on Wednesday to Bourbon, as also most of that court. It is thought he cannot last long; he has not yet the use of his right hand." "He is far from being well," so runs a bulletin despatch of the 28th, "and is very much broke of late, so that none thinks he can last long. His stay at Bourbon will be three weeks. He is to be eleven days in going, and the same in his return. They intend to pump his right arm, which he has lost the use of, and is to bathe and drink the waters. They desired but 30,000 *livres* of the French court for this journey, which was immediately sent them in gold. I do not know but they may advise him after that to a hotter climate, which may be convenient enough, on several accounts. In short, his senses and memory are much impaired, and a few months, I believe, will carry him off."

At length, early in April, the afflicted king commences his fruitless journey. He passed through the capital, and "lay last night (April 1) at the Duke of Lauzun's house," and there watched Manchester's intelligencer also, for his Lordship adds, that, at the duke's house, "one Mr. Saunderson, uncle to Lady Shuttleworth, kissed his hand. He is lately come from England, and lives generally in the north. His pretence of coming hither is to wait on that lady, home, who has been sometime in France, and is of the same opinion." To visitors of such loyal quality as the above there was no lack of courtesy at the hands of the exiles; but for visitors

generally from England, there was not the same courtesy. In April, Lord Manchester writes :—"The St. Germain people are very insolent, and the French very cold to all English. The late king has the gout at Bourbon, so cannot drink the waters."

Then it would seem that "the St. Germain people" grew circumspect and cautious, and sadly perplexed alike the ambassador and his "intelligencers." "I shall endeavour to know from whom the person was sent," he writes on June 6, "I mentioned to you, though I do not think I shall succeed. It is harder than ever to know what is doing at St. Germain, especially what correspondence they have in England. Whilst there is among them that opinion they shall be restored, few will run the hazard to lose what they expect on such a change. All I can say, I do my utmost for the service of his Majesty." At this time, the ex-king had returned from Bourbon les Bains, and Manchester writes of him on the 8th, "King James is come to St. Germain, who continues much as he was. Captain Campbell is the same that was here with Lord Lorn."

In another week "our General's wife is now the General," and the ambassador records that "King James is so decayed in his senses, he takes care of nothing, all things going now directly to the queen. They were both yesterday at Versailles, to wait on the king, but they did not come till after five, so I was gone." On July 12, the condition of the royal patient was aggravated :—"On Sunday, the late king was taken with another fit of an apoplexy, and, it was thought, would not have lived an hour. His eyes were fixed. I hear yesterday he was ill again. He is so decayed, and spits continually blood and matter, that every post you may expect to hear of his death. In short, none thinks he can live out this summer."

On September 3, the long agony has its more detailed record opened :—"King James was taken yesterday, at

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mass, with another fit worse than ever. He lost his speech, and was immediately put to bed. I have not heard anything this morning. He may possibly be dead by this time; if so, we shall soon see a new Scheme which will be curious." The above is to Vernon. On the 5th, Blathwayt is informed:—"King James was taken on Friday with fainting fits, which returned upon him yesterday. He was so ill that they gave him the extreme unction, and was in a manner dying. It is reported since he is dead, but I do not believe it, though by the account I have, he cannot live twenty-four hours. I expect every moment the news of his death. I do not think of sending a courier till I see a little how the court of France will act, and whether they will own the pretended Prince. As much as I can learn, they are undetermined at present what to do, and whether they shall suffer those of St. Germain's to proclaim him. I will take care to inform his Majesty every step that is made."

On the 7th, Lord Manchester again addresses himself to Vernon; on the 9th to Blathwayt. In the letter to the former secretary we read:—"On Sunday last, King James had again several fainting fits, which lasted so long that they thought him dead, but they brought him to himself. He received the sacrament and extreme unction, and seems much resigned. He exhorted Lord Middleton and the rest of his Protestant servants to embrace the Romish religion. To the pretended prince he desired he would keep to his faith, showing him how little value a crown was in regard to his salvation. In short he continued long on these subjects, and told the curate of St. Germain's he would be buried in their church, with only an inscription 'James, King of England.' His distemper, the physicians cannot tell what it is. They think an imposthume is broke, for a great deal of corruption and blood comes continually from him. Yesterday, he had another fit which lasted

an hour. The French king and the whole court have been to take their leave of him, but he was not dead last night ; and none expects he can recover. I know so much that I can assure you, the moment he dies, the prince will take the title of King of England, and will be owned as such, by those at St. Germain. Whether the court of France will own him so soon, I am in doubt, and am rather of opinion they will avoid it for some time. I intend, as soon as I see how the court acts on this occasion, to send an express to his Majesty, for instruction and orders."

In the second letter named above, the ambassador writes :—" King James is still alive, but without any hopes of recovery. He seems much resigned, and has exhorted Lord Middleton and Griffin and the rest of his Protestant servants to embrace the Romish religion. I hear the latter is extremely uneasy, by reason the King of France was present, who took notice to him, that he hoped he would reflect and consider what King James had said to him. This will have a greater effect, since I cannot tell, if he should not change, whether the French court will have any regard for him, as they have had hitherto. They talk much of what King James said to the pretended prince, to keep stedfast to his religion, and not to depart from it, on any account whatsoever." After alluding to the recognition of the son of James, in the same terms as in his letter to Vernon, Lord Manchester adds :—" Whatever compliments pass will be private. The king (Louis XIV.) is now at Marly, and at his return goes for Fontainebleau. So it may easily be contrived not to see the pretended prince till his return. The queen will be at Chaillot in the convent till King James is buried, and the pretended prince at the Duke of Lauzun's at Paris, and then they will return to St. Germain. I doubt not but the French will call him ' Roy d'Angleterre,' though it may be not where I am till it be publicly allowed of by the court."

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On the 14th we have further notices of the royal patient:—"It was thought King James would have died last night, but he was alive this morning, though every moment they expect he will expire, being dead almost up to his stomach, and is sensible of no pain. The King of France was there last night, and did declare he would own the pretended prince for King of England immediately. This I have from so good hands, for it is said he did it before several, that I can hardly doubt it. Whether we shall like this proceeding, you can best tell." A postscript, brief but explicit, sums up all:—

"P.S. King James is dead."

Nothing more, nothing less. The important text is burthened with no comment. Three days later, however, the ambassador has much to write about. The following comprises nearly an entire letter addressed to Vernon, on September 17:—

"I must desire you will lay this before their Excellencies" (the Lords Justices, the king being then in Holland), "since I conceive his Majesty will come to no resolution till he knows their opinion, it being a case of such a nature, that though it may not have great influence nor be much regarded in England, yet appears otherwise here, and puts me under some difficulty how to act. Neither do I intend to appear at court till I know his Majesty's intentions, and what orders he shall think proper to give me. The late king died between three and four yesterday in the afternoon, and immediately the pretended prince was proclaimed King of England by the title of James III. I do not hear there was any other ceremony otherwise than he having taken the title of king. Those at St. Germain's kissed his hand, and treated him with 'Majesty.' After that, the French complimented him, and did the like. What was done in the town was in a tumultuous manner, 'Long live James the Third!' &c. I do not

doubt but before now the King of France and the rest of the court have complimented him, all that matter being settled beforehand. He continues at St. Germain, but the queen is come to Chaillot, a convent near Paris.

“I do not find the late king much regretted at St. Germain, since the French king has promised all things there shall remain upon the same foot they were. I am far from giving any opinion, and do take it none are so proper to judge of this matter as their Excellencies the Lords Justices. Since it does not only regard his Majesty but also the nation; but I believe it is the first precedent that after owning a king, and his ambassador actually present, that prince should acknowledge another, with all the same titles. I know they say there is nothing in this contrary to the treaty of Ryswick, which they explain by their not intending to assist him in recovering the crown, at least during the life of his Majesty; but I thought treaties extended between princes to them and their successors, but even in that I suppose they will pretend to observe, since they have named the person that is to succeed, most of the foreign ministers are extremely surprised, and could not have believed what they see now. For my part, I say nothing. The king goes to Fontainebleau, next Tuesday. I intended to have made my court to him, before he went, but shall now defer it. . . . It is said there is a will, which is not yet opened. . . . I cannot tell what will be the determination, but I shall embrace any method that brings me into England.”

In a letter to Mr. Blathwayt of the 19th, many of the above details are repeated, with some additions. There was no ceremony, he states, except the proclamation, “otherwise than the queen waited on him and treated him as king. What was done in the town was in a tumultuous manner. Some say there was a herald, an Irishman, but Lord Middleton &c. did not

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appear, by reason they could not tell how the title of France would be taken here, had they done it in form. Lord Middleton brought the seals to him, which he gave him again ; others did the like. I am told before the French king made this declaration, he held a council at Marly, where it took up some debate whether he should own him or no ; or, if he did, it ought not to be deferred for some time. The secret of all this matter is, in short, there was a person who governs all here, who had some time since promised the queen it should be done, so that whatever passed in council was only for form. The French king came to St. Germain and assured the queen and pretended prince he would own him as soon as the late king was dead, upon which the queen told him it would be a great consolation to the late king, if his Majesty would tell him as much, which he did. And then his servants were called in, to whom he declared the same. To-morrow the French king goes to St. Germain to make the pretended prince the first visit as king. The queen is now in a convent at Chaillot, but returns to-morrow, where she will continue. The body is brought to the English Benedictines, where it will be exposed forty days, and then be left there till a proper opportunity of carrying it for England. . .

“ . . I assure you most of the French are surprised at this proceeding ; but it is generally said the French king has written to his Majesty, to show the necessity he was under ; and that M. de Torcy has spoke to me, who I have not heard a word from him ; so I do not believe the other. I cannot see what can be said to palliate this matter. I do not intend to appear at court till I have his Majesty's orders, which I rather imagine will be to return for England. We shall see whether any of the foreign ministers will compliment the pretended prince. I suppose the Spanish ambassador will, which I take is in our power to resent in like manner.”

In this dignified reserve Lord Manchester continued until he received the orders he awaited from England. "I did not go to Versailles, yesterday," he writes to Vernon, on the 21st, ". . . and I am confident none here, if they dare own their opinion, but must say I was in the right, and I think I should have made a worse figure than Mr. Zinzendorf did, who was present when the Duke of Anjou was declared King of Spain. I was satisfied the whole discourse of the court would have been of their own 'Roy d'Angleterre,' and of the French king's going to St. Germain's to make him the first visit; which accordingly he did that day. He stayed but little with him, giving him the title of Majesty; with the queen he was a considerable time; the rest of the court made their compliments the same day. I am told M. de Torcy does declare, this does not in any ways alter the intentions of the king from observing exactly the treaty of Ryswick; and he alleges several examples on the like cases. He seemed concerned I was not there, and did desire one to let me know he should be at Paris on Friday; and that he would either wait on me, or should be glad to see me. I intend to see him, to hear what he will say, and shall then acquaint you. I have had for some time a very difficult game how to act, and I cannot see but it will be yet worse. . . . I hear frequently from Mr. Blathwayt, who acquaints me he lays my letters regularly before his Majesty, which is the reason I do not write to the king immediately, myself; besides I find his Majesty has left what relates to me, to their Excellencies the Lords Justices, which is no little satisfaction."

The letter next in date to the above addressed to Vernon, is one to Blathwayt, of the 23rd September. The writer is still most concerned with the court of St. Germain's, the conduct of that of France, and the course he himself had to pursue:—"I did not go to Versailles, last Tuesday," he says, "not thinking it proper, which

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all own I was in the right. This has made them consider that, at least, they ought to have took notice of it to me, before they had made such a declaration. M. de Torcy seemed concerned, has sent me a compliment, and offered to wait on me. I desired it might be at his own house. I am to see him this afternoon, and shall hear what he can say in a case of this nature. I know he will pretend there is nothing in this contrary to the treaty of Ryswick, and that the engagements they have made with his Majesty, they will observe, and not assist in any manner the P. Prince. But this is saying they are under none, in case we should be so unhappy as to lose his Majesty, so that England must be engaged in a war at last ; and it is possible France may be in a better condition of supporting it then, than at present."

After alluding to the visit of the King of France to the young King James III., Lord Manchester informs Blathwayt, that "he" (the pretended king) "the next day returned the visit at Versailles. All the ceremonies passed to the entire satisfaction of those at St. Germain, and in the same manner as it was to the late king. I cannot tell what resolutions his Majesty will take on this occasion, but I hope at least the permission for coming home, for some time, which I expect from the Lords Justices, will not be revoked ; by which means, I may have the honour to discourse his Majesty on affairs here, which may be for his service, and which are not proper, nor cannot be so well done by letter. For my part, I cannot see any ill consequence, even if I was to take my audience of leave, but rather the contrary. It is now out of my power to serve his Majesty here with either honour or success ; and it will now come to that, that I shall be obliged to keep my house, or be exposed to the impertinent discourses of the French, of their new king, which is now the only subject talked of. I am sensible his Majesty will

take such measures as induces most for his service, and will have some consideration for me."

On the following day, the interview of Lord Manchester with the courteous and astute M. de Torcy having taken place, the ambassador proceeds, in his next letter, to give the following account of it to Vernon. The date is September 24:—

"I have seen M. de Torcy, who did endeavour to put the best colour he could on the late proceeding. The chief of his argument was to show me there was nothing in this contrary to the treaty of Ryswick; and I could perceive the king was brought to do it at the solicitation of the queen at St. Germain. It is certain he, as well as the rest of the ministers, were against it; only the Dauphin and Madame de Maintenon, which the queen had prevailed with, carried this point, which I am satisfied they may have occasion to repent. In short, it begins to appear already, since I assure you, in case I take my leave, it will cause a great consternation here. They see they are in no condition to support the war, in case we engage: never were the affairs of France in so ill a posture.

"I told him my mind very freely, and there is so much to say on this subject that he could not answer me. I said, it was such a precedent that might come home to them at last; that there was others that pretended to the crown of Spain, as well as the present king, and I left him to judge how that would be liked, if we were to act as they do.

"It is not necessary to repeat all that passed, but when I take myself to be in the right, I am apt enough to speak plain. I found him very calm and even concerned. Without doubt, they expect I shall be recalled, and will be sorry if it should so happen. At last I told him, I waited his Majesty's orders, and could say nothing to this matter; that I supposed I should have

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them soon, and then I would acquaint him. He hoped to see me at Fontainebleau.

“I know the king ordered M. de Torcy to soften this matter as much as he could to me. I have thoughts of laying this whole conference, which lasted an hour, before his Majesty, myself. It is so nice a matter, and there is no relying on anything this court says or does, after what we have seen, that I am afraid so much as to give any opinion; and it would be better if I could have the honour to discourse his Majesty on this subject, but I still fear there never will be any treating with this court, without great vigour and resolution, and *avec les armes à la main*.”

On September 26, a letter to Mr. Blathwayt treats of this same subject, the intercourse with the “calm” yet “concerned” de Torcy, whom Lord Manchester believed to be personally opposed to the recognition of the pretended Prince of Wales, as King of England—a recognition which, he repeats, was brought about by the influence of Mdme. de Maintenon and the Dauphin—their influence “carried this point.”

But, adds Lord Manchester—

“They may have reason to repent; for should I take my leave, as it is generally believed it cannot be otherwise, it would make them consider what they have done, their affairs here being in so ill a condition, that should we engage in the war, as we might, they would find themselves mistaken. The chief inducement some think was, lest the world should think the king was afraid to do it.

“I told M. de Torcy, I waited his Majesty’s orders, but, as from myself, since I had this opportunity, I would tell him really my mind. That he might easily imagine the reason I did not come to Versailles, that I could not hardly believe the court of France would have given a title to any one, which is only due to the

king my master ; nay, even if we had been so unhappy as to be engaged in a war, much less while his ambassador was here ; that it was such a precedent that might come home to them at last, there being others that pretended to the crown of Spain."

After repeating the details of this affair, as told in the preceding letter, and the assurances of M. de Torcy, that the recognition was an empty formality, a vain compliment to the son of James II., binding the King of France to no action whatever against King William, Lord Manchester civilly expressed his opinion that Louis XIV. "was above anything of that nature ;" but he adds his conviction to Vernon, that all this, as well as assurances of desire to be at peace with England, was said "only to amuse us ;" and ends by again proposing that he should be recalled. Returning then to speak of the deceased king, he says :—

"The will of the late king is opened, but not yet published, though I hear it is to be printed. What I have learnt is, that the queen is made Regent ; that the French king is desired to take care of his [the Prince's] education ; that in case he be restored, the queen is to be paid all she has laid out of her own ; that all other debts contracted since they left England, being made out, shall be paid ; that the new king do not take any revenge against the enemys of the king his father, nor his own ; that he shall not use any force in matter of religion ; nor in relation to the estates of any person whatsoever. He recommends to him all that have followed him. I am told Lord Perth is declared a Duke, and Caryll, a Lord. I do not doubt but we shall hear of several new titles and Garters. Certainly there ought to be some stop put to all this, else we shall not know where we are."

The position of King William's ambassador, at a court where two kings of England were acknowledged, with a strong feeling, however, in favour of the throneless

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king, was embarrassing enough in spite of the polite assurances of M. de Torcy, that there was nothing in it. Lord Manchester urged the necessity of his being recalled.

“I was unwilling,” he says, in a letter of September 28, to Vernon—“to press that matter, lest conjectures might have been put upon it, to my disadvantage, though I hope it is apparent the only end and aim I have is his Majesty’s service, and the honour of the nation; and if the impatience of staying here had been the only inducement I had, I am satisfied this court will contrive matters so that it could not be long before they would oblige me to be gone. Their actions show that there is nothing left now but that. The owning the pretended prince, if words can mean anything, is against the 4th article, and the prohibition of our commerce, contrary to the 6th of the treaty of Ryswick. But these are small matters to what you would have seen had it been in their power. The only satisfaction we have is, that all Europe must be convinced we are not the aggressours, and England must be satisfied his Majesty is not for engaging them in a war, if it can be prevented.”

Lord Manchester repeats to Vernon the announcement already made to Blathwayt in reference to the will of the ex-King James, adding a comment on the testamentary instructions that, in case of a restoration, all debts contracted by the ex-royal family since they left England, were to be acquitted—to this effect:—“which may be a considerable article, as this court understands it;”—the French court evidently anticipating the delight of making heavy claims on the English Treasury for the hospitality rendered to the fugitive Stuarts. Turning then to minor court-arrangements, Lord Manchester writes:—

“By this will, Lord Middleton is declared Duke of

Monmouth, but it is said he will not take it. Lord Perth, by an old patent, is a duke, and Caryll a baron. There are several others, not yet declared, so that the House of Lords will be well filled, at their return. We shall hear soon of some Garters disposed of. It is a comical scheme, and I hope it will end so; though it will be difficult to make them understand it in that manner."

The post of English ambassador in Paris was clearly becoming untenable, with dignity or profit; and at length, Lord Manchester received, with great satisfaction, his orders of recall—orders that had small ceremony in them, as far as they referred to the ambassador's bearing towards the court of France. On October 1 he writes in excellent spirits to Vernon:—

"Last night arrived here a messenger from Loo. Mr. Blathwayt acquaints me that his Majesty, having considered the proceedings of this court, does order me to return to England, forthwith, without taking leave, only letting M. de Torcy know the reasons why his Majesty does not think it for his honour nor his service to continue any longer any ambassador or minister here.

"I purpose to set out in less than ten days, and do desire their Excellencies the Lords Justices will order a yacht for me at Calais. I cannot but think this resolution is right, and am glad it is so taken, though in relation to myself, I could have wished there had not been an occasion, so that I might have left this court in a better manner. I intend to leave M. Lewis here, to take care of my affairs, at least till I have discoursed you, it will be of some advantage having so good a pretence."

As intimated to Vernon, the parting interview with M. de Torcy took place. "I acquainted M. de Torcy," writes the ambassador to Blathwayt, October 4, "in

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the manner you directed me, and have enclosed his answer. I have some reason to think the court was a little surprised, though they might reasonably expect such a resentment. You will see he refers himself to the conference I had with him before I went to Fontainebleau. . . I must own, on this occasion, they are much civilier than I expected; and I have great obligations to M. de Torey, who has on all occasions shown himself extreme kind to me, as even in this answer he still expresses it. He will procure me passports for my goods, else I should not have known what to have done. After all, I have reason to be very well pleased with the orders I have received. I intend to set out for England by the 10th, where I find I shall have the honour to pay my duty to his Majesty in a short time."

The Duc de St. Simon, in his 'Memoirs,' records the fact of Lord Manchester's departure, without the formality of taking leave, and he adds that King William was at his house, at Loo, in Holland, when he received the news of the death of James, and of the recognition of his son, as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. William is said to have been at table, at the time, with some German princes, and several men of rank. He did not utter a single word, beyond repeating the news itself; but his face reddened; he pulled his hat over his eyes; and was unable to keep his features composed. His first act, however, was one of spirit. There was a chargé d'affaires at London, in the absence of Tallard, the French ambassador. His name was Poussine, and King William sent orders that he should quit England, without delay. The orders were promptly obeyed. In a few hours the French official was at Calais—and there was bitter hostility between France and England, for some time.

CHAPTER XI.

HOME AGAIN.

A FEW years had elapsed after Lord Manchester's return from Paris, when the next letters, according to date, at Kimbolton, introduce us again to public men and matters. The first important person with whom we meet is Harley, and how business was transacted in Mr. Secretary Harley's office, the following report, made to Queen Anne, will abundantly show. Harley was Secretary of State from 1704 to 1708, holding that office, during a portion of the time, with the equally important one of Speaker of the House of Commons. William was now dead, and Queen Anne reigned in his place. The great war with France had begun, and Marlborough was in the field. A great cycle of history was being made, in a fiery, impetuous manner. Considering what interests were at stake, the official neglect seems marvellous. All our projects were betrayed to the enemy, and while Queen Anne was granting pardon to traitors who had incurred the penalty of death, and yet who dared come from France into England, Louis was clapping into the Bastille such agents of his and the exiled Stuarts as ventured to return to France without having accomplished that for which they were despatched into England. On the other hand, if the queen's political secrets were betrayed to France, those of the Jacobites were betrayed by such men as Frazer, Lord Lovat, to the queen.

According to the annexed report, however, it was something more important that was divulged, than the

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mere details of our policy towards the Jacobites. A foreign enemy with whom we had to contend was made acquainted with what passed in the Queen's Privy Council. Fortunately, the traitors quarrelled amongst themselves, and betrayed each other; nor did the enemy profit much by what they learned. Within the years of Harley's secretaryship, Marlborough carried the Bavarian entrenchments at Schellenberg, annihilated the French power in Germany by the victory of Blenheim, and, thereby, saved the Germanic empire. His triumph at Ramilies secured the Netherlands as territory belonging to "Charles III.," the archduke whom we were supporting as King of Spain against Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV. But, subsequently, all our advantages were nearly lost, when Berwick beat Galway at Almanza; Toulon was besieged in vain, a large force was uselessly detached to Naples, and Marlborough had to contend in Flanders against Vendome, who manœuvred so skillfully and posted himself so strongly that Marlborough dared not attack him, and a diversion in favour of the allies besieging Toulon was rendered impracticable.

PETITION TO THE QUEEN.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,—We, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, having entered into a serious consideration of the said several reports, have unanimously come to the following resolutions thereupon. That it is our opinion that the crime of which William Greg stands attainted is of so heinous a nature, and attended with such extraordinary circumstances, that it may prove of very pernicious consequences if he should not be made an example. And, also, that it does plainly appear to us, as well by what Alexander Valiere and John Bara have informed against each other, as by the many examinations taken concerning them, that they were both in the French interest, and

unfit to be trusted or employed by any persons in your Majesty's service. And that the open and public manner of the correspondence managed by them, with the governors and commissaries of Calais and Boulogne, could tend only to carry on an intelligence to the advantage of your Majesty's enemies; and that it is highly probable, thereby, the stations of our cruisers, the strength of our convoys, and the times of sailing of our merchant ships, have been betrayed to the French.

"May it please your Majesty, it is your Majesty's glory, and the happiness of Europe, that you are at the head of one of the greatest confederacies that ever was known in history; and it is the common concern of the whole alliance, that your councils should be kept with the strictest secrecy. But, in the papers now laid before you, your Majesty will be pleased to observe that some of your resolutions of the greatest moment, and that required the utmost secrecy, have been sent to your enemies by the same post they were despatched to the allies. That all the papers in Mr. Secretary Harley's office have, for a considerable time, been exposed to the view even of the meanest clerks in the office; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners was chiefly trusted to Greg, a person of very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. It is not easily to be known what ill consequences may have attended such negligence, but we depend upon it that such matters being thus plainly laid open to your Majesty, we shall be secured against any dangers of this nature for the future.

"We are further in duty bound to beseech your Majesty that all possible measures may be used to put a stop to that dangerous, and which may soon prove fatal, interference between your Majesty's subjects and France, which has of late received so great an encouragement, by the countenance and protection given to Valiere and Bara; since, unless that be effectually done, your

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Majesty's enemies will continue to have what intelligence they please. Your Majesty's men-of-war and merchant ships will be in danger of being betrayed to the French; and that most destructive trade of sending wool to France, which has been with much charge and trouble interrupted, and in great measure suppressed, will be revived to a greater degree than ever."

HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS ANSWER.

"MY LORDS,—I am sorry that any who have been employed by those in my service should have proved false to their trust and injurious to the public.

"The examples you lay before me will, I do not doubt, be a sufficient warning to keep all matters of importance as secret as may be, and to employ such only as there shall be good grounds to believe will be faithful."

Reference has been already made to the course adopted by England in the war, which arose out of the claims to the succession to the Spanish throne. Not to deviate from the course which England had determined to follow, Lord Manchester was, in 1707, despatched to the court of Vienna, as ambassador extraordinary.

The following letters from Lord Sunderland and Mr. Harley, sent after the earl to Harwich, then our chief port of departure for Holland and Germany, contain some of the instructions which he was to follow at the imperial court. *This* Sunderland is the Lord who succeeded to the title in 1702, the grandson of Sacharissa, and the husband of Anne, Marlborough's daughter:—

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

"WHITEHALL: March 7, 1704.

"MY LORD,—Having received by the last post from Italy an account of an agreement between Prince

Eugene and the Prince of Vaudemont for the withdrawing all the French troops out of Italy, and apprehending lest the court of Vienna upon this may be more intent than ever upon the design of sending troops to the kingdom of Naples; and Mons. Vryberg having in a memorial to her Majesty represented the same things, her Majesty has commanded me to acquaint your Lordship that it is her pleasure that you do hasten your journey to Vienna as much as possible, and that you do represent to that court, in her Majesty's name, how destructive any such design would be, to the carrying the war into Dauphine and Provence, which is settled and concerted with the Duke of Savoy, and which is the only way by which France can be affected or a diversion made in favour of King Charles. I will not enlarge upon this, because you will receive it more fully from Mr. Secretary Harley. I send you, enclosed, a copy of the convention between Prince Eugene and Prince Vaudemont, and of another paper which is the Duke of Savoy's remarks upon some of the articles, and also of Mr. Vryberg's Memorial. I take for granted this will find you still at Harwich, where I am afraid this wind will keep you but too long. I wish you a good voyage and everything to your satisfaction, and am, with great respect, your Lordship's most humble servant,

“SUNDERLAND.”

SECRETARY HARLEY TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: March 1⁷/₈, 1704.

“MY LORD,—I am very sorry the ill state of my health rendered me so unfortunate as not to find your Lordship at your own house, and that I was not in a condition to receive your Excellency when you did me the honour to call at mine before you left the town. I thought I should not have had occasion to give you any trouble so soon more than to wish your Excellency a happy and prosperous journey, but this morning

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Mr. Vryberg, the envoy of the States-general, delivered a Memorial to her Majesty, a copy whereof the Queen has commanded me to transmit to your Excellency, that you may see the opinion of the States upon that affair in Italy in which her Majesty does entirely concur; and therefore, you will please, both at Vienna and all other places where you shall think it necessary, express her Majesty's sentiments upon that affair, and do your utmost to prevent any alteration of the project which has been agreed with Prince Eugene for carrying the war into France under pretence of taking Naples or Sicily, which are views no ways to be brought into comparison with the other design.

"I am, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant,

"R. G. HARLEY."

The ambassador sailed from Harwich for Holland.

To a man very different in temperament, character, and politics, the next letter from Lord Manchester, is written from the Hague—to the Duke of Marlborough. At this period England was still jubilant with the wonderful success of last year's campaign. The colours and standards from Ramilies were still drawing crowds to Guildhall. It had just been decreed that Blenheim should be erected for the great warrior's abiding place, with 5,000*l.* a-year added to the honour and manor of Woodstock already settled on him.

Meanwhile, the Whig ministry damped some of the public joy, by its vigorous prosecution of the press and of writers who indulged in animadversions disagreeable to the government. A reverend gentleman, Mr. Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surrey, was too glad to go on his knees in the Secretary of State's office, and beg pardon for having criticised the Duke of Marlborough's last campaign. Experience, however, did not profit him much; eager to let the world know his

thoughts, he wrote another political pamphlet which brought down upon him a sentence to stand in the pillory. This sentence frequently fell upon two zealous gentlemen in this reign. Mr. William Pittes was raised to the unenvied distinction, for pamphleteering against the powers that were, and Dr. Browne was pilloried twice in the same year, for one offence—writing a copy of verses called ‘The Country Parson’s Advice to the Lord Keeper.’ Perhaps the double penalty was inflicted for the badness of the verse as well as the unpleasantness of the sentiment; a duplex offence which exposed Ned Ward to be fined, as well as pilloried, for his burlesque poem on the times.

When the subjoined letter was written, Marlborough was about to proceed on that mission to Charles XII. of Sweden, in which he discovered that the young king had no hostile views against the Grand Alliance, but that he held the Muscovite Czar and the French King in his heart’s extremest hate.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

“HAGUE: March $\frac{25}{4}$, 170 $\frac{5}{7}$.

“MY LORD,—I cannot omit this first opportunity to assure your Grace how desirous I shall always be to receive your directions, which I am sensible will be of great advantage to me in particular, as also for her Majesty’s service. I have waited on the Pensionary and did acquaint him that I had orders to make what haste I could to Vienna, and that her Majesty did entirely concur with the States-general in relation with the project concerted with the Duke of Savoy; he seemed to think that the agreement that is made in Italy for the French troops to retire to Luse, may be of ill consequence, which he supposes was the reason why neither her Majesty nor the States-general was acquainted with it from the Imperial Court, lest they should have endeavoured to have dissuaded them from it. I told

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him my stay here would be very short, since he could not but be sensible it might be necessary I should be at Vienna as soon as was possible ; that I did not think of staying long there, but that I had orders from her Majesty to act in concert with the minister of the States-general in everything that might be for the common cause ; he seemed very easy, and said he hoped Mr. Amelott might be at Vienna about the same time, that the States would give the same directions, so that I think I have nothing more to do here, but intend as soon as I can to set out for Dusseldorf, where I shall pursue the directions your Grace thought proper, and so to Mayence in case the Elector is there. I made your Grace's compliments to the Pensionary, and he is very glad to hear that you intend to be here so soon. I am, with the greatest respect imaginable and truth,

“Yours, etc.”

On his road, missives overtake the ambassador on behalf of gentlemen a little in distress and greatly desirous to be actively and profitably employed. It is pleasant to find that the brotherhood of old Westminster existed vigorously, long after the school days had come to an end ; in illustration of which, here is Stepney interceding for Hicks, and Hicks is a young fellow, willing and able to turn his hand to anything in the earl's service. That the aspirant was exact in his arithmetic and master of many tongues speaks well for the old school in those days. South indeed said of it, and Stepney's letter would seem to confirm it,

*Hebræus Græcusque uno cernuntur in Anglo,
Qui puer huc Anglus venerat, exit Arabs ;*

and Evelyn has recorded his astonishment at the proficiency of the pupils.

Stepney, the writer of the following letter, was a minor poet and statesman, who was elected to Oxford in 1682, the year after Mat Prior, poet and statesman,

was admitted to the college of St. Peter. Stepney and Hicks were *alumni* when Busby was head master, and we see perhaps some effect of his teaching in this letter written out of charity and for the sake of old acquaintance at Westminster :—

TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ BRUXELLES : March 28, 1707.

“ MY LORD,—Mr. Hicks, who will present this letter to your Excellency, has been in very good circumstances though at present he is reduced, I fear, pretty low ; and has his chief hopes in a prospect of picking up in Frankfort, Neuremburg, and other parts of Germany, some scattered debts which may help to requite his fortune ; but as he has not wherewithal to bear the expenses of such a journey, he has desired me to recommend him to some part of services in your Excellency’s family, which I could not refuse him out of charity, and for the sake of old acquaintance at Westminster. He understands several languages, and may be useful to your family upon the road ; especially in what relates to your accounts, wherein he is very exact. Whatever favour your Excellency be pleased to show him, upon my recommendation, shall be most thankfully acknowledged by me, who am, with the greatest respect,

“ Your Lordship’s humble and obedient servant,

“ G. STEPNEY.”

On his way to the execution of the mission to which he had been preferred by his government, Lord Manchester meets with other letters than those in which he is petitioned to confer office in his household on decayed gentlemen. The Electoral family of Hanover had always held him in the greatest esteem. He was worthy of no less, for he was one of those foremost active men who went over to William under great personal risks, and who, by their daring and

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prudence combined, laid the foundations of that greatness of the Electoral house, the former of which the Grand Electress saw firmly established, but the latter of which she was never destined to enjoy.

When Sophia wrote the following letter, she was in the seventy-seventh year of her age. She was still lively, alert, and intelligent. Few women of her day were so accomplished as she was; few persons of her years were so merry or so busy, so careful in matters of high importance, so happy in taking interest in mere trifles and pastimes. There was a certain amount of mischief in her temperament, as there was of Jacobitism in her politics, and of looseness in her religious principles; and there was no sport more excellent in her estimation, than in setting some clever unorthodox fellow to dispute on doctrinal questions, and theology generally, with her chaplain, while she sat by enjoying the hard hits of the one, and the embarrassment of the other, and not particularly caring which had the worst or the best of the argument.

Only two years before this letter was written, Burnet spoke of the Electress as "the most knowing and entertaining woman of her age." She was one of those rare women who illustrate the undoubted truth that there is a beauty in every age—in woman especially. She was graceful, commanding, unwrinkled, and joyous, to the last—which did not come till seven years subsequently to the penning of this letter of good wishes to the earl. She had but one great object of ambition, the attainment of which was denied to her—that of dying Queen of Great Britain, and of having that fact recorded on her tomb. She passed away, however, just before that Queen Anne of whom she speaks with so much respect; and the crown descended to the Electoral Prince, her son, and writer of the letter which follows her own.

The great grandson whose birth she announces, and on whom she looked as a future King of England, died a little too early for the attainment of that great dignity, like herself. This child, so happy, as his great-grandmother thinks, in being born under the reign of our great Queen, was Frederick, son of the prince who was afterwards George II. and father of George III. Son of a king, father of a king, but never king himself.

This descendant in whom Sophia took so great an interest was ill brought up, and was not without parts, but these were so perverted that it was as fortunate perhaps for himself as for England—to which he did not come till he was already a man—that he was never its sovereign.

TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“HANOVRE : le 1^r d’Avril, 1767.

“MONSIEUR,—Comme je ne puis avoir le plaisir de vous recevoir ici après une si longue absence, ce m’est au moins une consolation bien grande de voir que vous en témoignez du déplaisir, et que cela n’a pas diminué l’affection que vous avez toujours conservé pour moi et pour ma maison, dont je vous suis tout à fait obligée. Comme aussi que vous avez la bonté de prendre part à la naissance de mon aimé petit-fils, auquel vous jugez que je prends grand intérêt. . . Je me réjouis en attendant que ce grand événement soit arrivé sous le règne de notre grande Reine qui se rend glorieuse de toutes les manières, en quoi je prend beaucoup de part. Je vous souhaite aussi un heureux voyage, et j’espère qu’à votre retour je vous pourrais dire moi-même que je suis,

“Avec la même estime pour votre personne,

“Monsieur, votre très-affectueuse,

“À vous servir,

“SOPHIE, Élec^t.”

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The letter of the Electress's son, George Louis, afterwards George I., who, at the present writing, had been a naturalised Englishman for two years, is in equally friendly terms with that of his mother :—

TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“HANOVRE : Avril, 1707.

“MY LORD,—Je vous suis fort obligé de la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire de la Haye. C'est avec beaucoup de regret que j'apprends que les affaires dont la Reine vous a chargé pour le Cours de Mayence et de Dusseldorf, vous empêcheront de passer par Hanover. Je me serais fait un grand plaisir de vous y voir, et de vous temoigner combien je suis sensible à ce que vous avez fait en diverses occasions pour les intérêts de ma Maison. Vous pouvez vous assurer que j'ai une considération très-particulière pour votre personne, et que je chercherais toujours les occasions de vous faire voir que

“Je suis très-sincèrement,

“Votre très-affectionné,

“GEORGE-LOUIS, Électeur.”

Lord Manchester had business of more importance to transact than visiting Hanover, and sharing in the enjoyments of Herrenhausen. Letters of instruction overtook him on his way, and urged him forward. The two following, from Lord Sunderland, are at least brief and intelligible :—

TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL : April 4, 1707.

“MY LORD,—I have nothing this post to trouble your Lordship with, but to send you the enclosed paper, which is a copy of the project concerted with the Duke of Saxony; as to the general design of entering France, they have been acquainted with it at Vienna, but as

for the particular design upon Toulon, they have not, at least from hence, so that except they should mention it to you, you will take no other notice to them, but to press them to do everything towards the main design of carrying the war into France, and therefore above all things to lay aside their project of Naples.

“ I am, with great respect, your Lordship’s obedient servant,

“ SUNDERLAND.”

TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ WHITEHALL: April 18, 1707.

“ MY LORD,—I had the honour of your Lordship’s letter from Frankfort of the 10th April, N.S., and hope you are got before this to Vienna, where your presence is, I fear, more and more necessary every day ; for by our letters from the Duke of Savoy he complains extremely of the proceedings of the Court, so that your Lordship can’t press them in those matters with too much earnestness. I wish with all my heart, your representations may meet with success. Lord Marlborough and Lord Treasurer have prepared the way for you, in writing as pressingly as is possible to Count Wratislaw.

“ I am, with great respect and truth, my Lord, your Lordship’s humble and obedient servant,

“ SUNDERLAND.”

Two of Marlborough’s common-sense business-like letters to the ambassador here follow. The disaster referred to in the first is the defeat of the allies at Almanza, by the Duke of Berwick. The measures concerted with the Duke of Savoy were these :—the courts of St. James’s and Turin, by their agents, Marlborough and Eugene, had agreed on the siege of Toulon — a siege already named, in passing. Eugene and the Duke of Savoy led 30,000 men over the Col de Tende, and the most gallant of shoemaker’s sons, Sir

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Cloudesley Shovel, cooperated, by means of his Anglo-Dutch fleet, off the coast of Provence. Norris and his fighting sailors cleared both sides of the Var, and enabled the force to cross and to advance; but its delay in getting forward, attributable to the Duke of Savoy, was taken advantage of by Villars, who despatched battalion after battalion from the Rhine, and when Savoy and Eugene came in sight of Toulon, they found it impregnable, and covered by a fortified camp of forty battalions.

Eugene recommended discretion and withdrawal, but Savoy insisted on attempting an assault, for the chance of victory. His assault on the hill of St. Catherine was momentarily successful, but the French regained the hill, and increased the strength of Toulon. The Duke of Savoy contented himself with bombarding the city, and, by effecting as much destruction as possible, avenge himself in part for the devastation of Turin, by the French. In this bombardment the English fleet cooperated; after which, in September, the invaders recrossed the Var and retired, unpursued, to the maritime Alps. "All the earnestness" of the Duke of Savoy came to nothing. Had he and his confederates only had the Imperialists, who were useless at Naples, and to establish one of whose princes on the throne of Spain we were pouring out blood and treasure, even at Toulon there would have been a more satisfactory consequence of gallantry which was there displayed only to incur disaster.

At the writing of the second of the following two letters, Marlborough had removed from Conderlecht in Brabant, with 68,000 combatants, to the camp established by him at Lemberg.

What followed need be but simply indicated. The duke's adversaries, Vendôme and the Elector of Bavaria, with 10,000 men more than the duke held in hand, occupied a line, of which Ligny was on their right,

Sombreuf on their left. Marlborough's army, thereupon, took position on the field of Waterloo, the headquarters of the English general being at Soignies. But there was no battle on this as yet not famous ground. The Dutch field-deputies, at whose word the signal for battle was given out or withheld, declared the enemy to be too strong, and Marlborough, albeit chafing, was compelled to retire to his old quarters, presenting meanwhile such a front to the enemy that Vendôme did not venture to assail or to follow him. Months passed away without further action. The army was ready for it, but the Dutch had to be humoured lest they should secretly negotiate with the French! Marlborough's fear was lest he should be further compelled to accept a "bad peace."

TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"BRUSSELS: May, 1707.

"MY LORD,—I did not receive the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 27th of last month till my return from Saxony to the Hague, where I made so short a stay, that I hope you will excuse my not answering it sooner.

"I have seen by other letters from Vienna of later date how obstinately they pursue the expedition against Naples notwithstanding all the representations that have been made to dissuade them from it; a jealous humour prevails so much at that court that they will not seriously weigh and consider their own interest, so that the best arguments are thrown away. I expect soon to hear whether our misfortune in Spain has made such impression it ought with them; in the meanwhile I am glad to see by letters from Turin, that the Duke of Savoy pursues the measures that have been concerted with him, with all the earnestness we can desire.

"I arrived here two days ago, and immediately ordered the troops to march to their rendezvous near Halle,

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where I shall join the army on Saturday, and then shall soon be able to guess by the enemy's motions what they design. They talk no less than of giving us battle, which in my opinion is what we ought most to desire, for though it is possible they may outnumber us, yet I am sure they cannot equal us in goodness of troops.

"Your Excellency will have heard of the misfortune arrived to our outward-bound Portugal fleet, and of the loss of the convoy. I am, with great sincerity,

"Your Excellency's faithful and humble servant,
"MARLBOROUGH."

The second letter testifies to the readiness of the army; we have already alluded to the lack of it on the part of the Hollanders—a lack which served to point a saying of the duke's. "Why," he was asked, "did Alexander the Great and other early heroes make such rapid progress in their victories, while, now, a general barely captures a couple of towns in a single campaign?" "Alexander and those other gentlemen," replied the duke, "were never obstructed in their camp by field-deputies from the States-general!"

TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"CAMP AT LEMBERG: May 25, 1707.

"MY LORD,—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 11th inst., and send this to Mr. Chetwynd, in hopes it may meet you at Turin, where I doubt not you will find his Royal Highness perfectly well intended, and ready to concur in anything that may promote the carrying on the expedition into France with all possible vigor.

"I am glad to see you have so good an opinion of the court of Vienna, for I have been for some time apprehensive they were not in so good dispositions as were to be wished. Our army has been assembled at this camp four days, that of the enemy has come out of their

lines, so that the next march we make, we may be able to guess whether they design to meet us, as they give out; 'tis very certain they are very numerous, but our troops are all in so good a condition, that I think we can wish for nothing more than a battle, to do our part towards repairing the misfortune in Spain.

“I am, with great truth, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

“MARLBOROUGH.”

From sounds of war, we will now turn to those of softer music, echoes of which reach us in the next epistles.

CHAPTER XII.

MUSIC : OPERATIC AND MARTIAL.

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MR. BOYLE'S letter, which follows, shows how variously the public mind was affected at this time. The first thing in the writer's thoughts is a matter connected with the Opera, and can that great man Buononcini, of whom we shall hear again, be got away from the Imperial patronage which oppresses him at Vienna;—a court, we are told, which cannot be persuaded to pursue its own interests; but this last allusion is made in reference to a much more serious matter than music—namely, the obstinacy of the Imperial government in sending troops on a bootless errand to Naples—down far away in the south, when they should have been serving, more to the north, the cause which was to deprive the French Prince Philip of that crown, to set which on the head of a German candidate we were taking such infinite pains and reaping much ingratitude. Had Toulon fallen, as it might have done, with the cooperation of the force sent to Naples, the latter would have followed in the same course without resistance, but the obstinacy of the government at Vienna was not to be overcome even by the skill and persuasion of Lord Manchester. There was an eager desire in England for some victory which should make amends for past disasters and disappointments. Meanwhile, it is pleasant and not surprising to hear that Queen Anne, having so important an end to accomplish as the union of England and Scotland, has more than ordinary business on hand. This will be

found a good gossiping letter, though inferior in interest to the two by which it is followed :—

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TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ LONDON : May 27, 1707.

“ MY LORD,—I was not a little proud of the honour of your Lordship’s letter from Vienna, but am sorry it is so difficult to get Buononcini over here. I don’t find that there is like to be any further steps made towards it ; so we must content ourselves with his music, and particularly I long to hear his new opera, which my Lord Halifax has not yet received. I am sorry your Lordship has been at the trouble of soliciting a court that cannot be persuaded to pursue its own interest, but I hope that the good prospect of affairs you will find when you come to Turin will make your Lordship amends for your disappointment at Vienna. Our loss in Spain does not appear to be less than the French represent it ; but most people comfort themselves with the hopes that the Duke of Marlborough and the Duke of Savoy will more than make us amends for that misfortune. I have seen a list of the French army in Flanders, which makes them amount to above 70,000 men, and upon their motions towards Huy, of which there came an account yesterday, most people are in expectation of a battle, which our general is very desirous of. The queen does not remove to Windsor till the middle of next month, having more business than is usual at this time, upon the account of the Union. I am, with the greatest respect,

“ Your Lordship’s obedient servant,

“ H. BOYLE.”

Vanbrugh’s letter, which follows, is three parts professional, and one part gossip. Those three parts serve to carry on the history of the house at Kimbolton. Vanbrugh’s sensitiveness and modesty appear here : he

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is certain his plans, if shown to modern Italian architects, will be criticised, but he anticipates any prejudices that might be created in the earl's mind, by an intelligible explanation of his own views.

That there was delay in the progress of the palace building at Blenheim for the Duke of Marlborough is here confirmed. Queen Anne had at first been eager and generous, desirous to see the house built; and liberal—as far as liberality would consist with contributing to the building out of the public money. But difficulties had arisen. Just as Anne was about to make a neighbour of the duchess, in Pall Mall, by making a grant to the duke of such portion of the grounds connected with the palace, as had been “heretofore used for keeping of pheasants, guinea-hens, partridges, and other fowl,” whereon to build the house which is now the London home of the Prince and Princess of Wales—just at this juncture, the queen and the duchess quarrelled. The latter had quitted St. James's, leaving her apartments there in such a state of dilapidation and even devastation, that Anne opposed further aids towards erecting a country palace for the woman who had had so little respect for Anne's own residence. This explains the allusion to the difficulty of procuring the necessary funds for erecting Blenheim Palace on the spot where Vanbrugh had found space for it, by blowing up the old towers of Woodstock.

Meanwhile, Vanbrugh had other sources of vexation. “One of those sour men,” to quote the ‘Athenæum’ for January 19, 1861, “who, ignorant of architecture and not much accomplished in epigram, used to laugh at Sir John Vanbrugh's designs for church or mansion, because they could not deny his dash, energy and success as a comic writer—one Dr. Evans, a fellow long since forgotten—had the malice and the luck to launch against him an immortal couplet:

Lie heavy on him earth! For he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.

Dr. Evans was a poor dog: 'furious madman' were the words in which Gray described him in a letter to Walpole; but the epitaph, for point, and bitterness, and false suggestion, might have come from the pen of Pope. Pope and Swift both hated Vanbrugh, and both labelled and libelled him in their free masculine way.

How Van wants grace who never wanted wit, is Pope's well-remembered line; and Swift lampooned him, as an architect, in two of his most bilious poems. The small wits followed in the track of the great ones; and for a generation after the sprightly author of 'The Confederacy' and 'The Provoked Wife' took to building palaces and castles, the lampooners, who detested him for his stage successes, pelted him as a heavy dunce! Evans's lines expressed the common sarcasm of the London coffee-houses. Envy had much to do with this persecution; if the public had not laughed so heartily at Vanbrugh's comedies, the wits would probably not have sneered at his achievements in stone. But who could stand the pretensions of a fellow who was at once the rival of Congreve and of Wren? No man is allowed such liberties with fame. If Brass, and Lord Foppington, and Miss Hoyden, and Dick Amlett were original, pungent, glorious, full of blood and devil, then the poet's house at Whitehall, and even Blenheim and Castle Howard, must be voted vile. Van's employment by the queen as architect of Blenheim crazed his enemies and detractors. Swift condescended to write of him:—

For building famed, and justly reckoned
At court, Vitruvius the Second:
No wonder, since wise authors show,
That best foundations must be low;
And now the Duke has wisely ta'en him
To be his architect at Blenheim.
But, raillery for once apart,
If this rule holds in every art;
Or if his Grace were no more skilled in
The art of battering walls than building,
We might expect to see next year
A mouse-trap man chief engineer.

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All this spite and ridicule has long since passed away. Sir John Vanbrugh's merits as an architect—his fire, his daring, his picturesqueness, his solidity and grandeur—have been recognised and very handsomely acknowledged by the best judges of art. Sir Joshua Reynolds's judgment of him, though often quoted, may be quoted once again:—‘In the buildings of Vanbrugh, who was a poet as well as an architect, there is a greater display of imagination than we shall find perhaps in any other; and this is the ground of the effect we feel in many of his works, notwithstanding the faults with which many of them are charged.’ It was the peculiarity of Vanbrugh's genius that he was a poet even more than a builder, and designed a palace as he designed a play—in masses, with so much unity of thought in the stone construction as he would have studied in his action and dialogue, the whole relieved and enlivened by artistic contrasts and surprises. No man, probably, not a slave of rules, will deny to Blenheim and to Castle Howard a certain splendour and originality not to be seen in the works of common men. Seen from the bridge, or from the grassy upland above the bridge, what secular edifice in England will compare in force, solidity and cheeriness, with the front of Blenheim? Is it not wonderfully bright, and bold, and various, striking in the detail and in the mass? Does it not gloriously cap and adorn the voluptuous site on which it stands? Does not the work, too, thoroughly embody the idea out of which it grew—the memorial of a nation's gratitude and a hero's deeds?

The plans for Blenheim drew the eyes of the world to Vanbrugh. Anne admired them so much that she had them placed in her palace at Kensington, where she could feast her eyes upon them daily. All the Court admired them and their author: and the wit, the soldier, the opera manager, and the comic writer sprang into an official position—the architect of England,

the Palladio, the Michael Angelo of the West. While the works at Woodstock were in progress, part of the old Castle at Kimbolton fell down from age; and Vanbrugh, as was likely from the queen's protection of him, got from the Countess of Manchester, in her husband's absence from home, a commission to repair and rebuild the garden front. As the earl was in Venice, on that diplomatic mission which gave England an ally in the Doge and our fortunate ambassador the highest honours of the English Peerage, the affair was arranged by letters. These letters are in Vanbrugh's best style—letters of business and gossip, in which we see the very form and aspect of the times. The first note printed below shows, among other things, that the fall of part of the building had not injured the Bedroom—Queen Katherine's room—the chamber in which she died—and the centre, it may be added, of all that is most tender and romantic in the edifice as it now stands.

VANBRUGH TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

“LONDON: July 18, 1707.

“MY LORD,—If I had had my Lady's leave, I had sooner written to your Lordship about Kimbolton. She has given you an account by what means the whole garden front has come down; and she did me the honour (when she saw it must do so) to ask my advice in carrying it up again. I could not go down just then but did soon after, and got Mr. Hawkinson down with me, when, having considered everything, we all agreed upon the inclosed design, which differs very much from what Coleman had drawn, and particularly in that he had not brought the door of the house into the middle of the front: many other great exceptions there were to it, both within and without, the chief of which are in this design decided. Your Lordship will here see something that differs in the last of the rooms, from the

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common mode ; which is, to go immediately out of the drawing-room into the bed-chamber. But the drawing-room here, falling in the beginning of the line, had the bed-chamber been next, there could have been no regular or proper way out of this front into the garden, which would have been an unpardonable want. There was, therefore, a necessity for some new contrivance, and I thought there could nothing in reason be objected to being supplied with a large noble room of parade between the drawing-room and the bed-chamber, especially since it falls so right to the garden that the door is in the middle of the room, and takes exactly the middle walk and canal. For my part, I cannot but hope it will prove an agreeable (though unusual) accident in the apartment ; and this I am sure, that consider the room in itself, and it will be beyond all contest the most pleasant in the house. . . . As to the outside, I thought it was absolutely best to give it something of the castle air, though at the same time to make it regular, and by this means, too, all the old stone is serviceable again, which, to have had new, would have run to a very great expense. This method was practised at Windsor in King Charles's time, and has been universally approved. So I hope your Lordship will not be discouraged if any Italian you may show it to, should find fault that it is not Roman ; for to have built a front with pilasters and what the orders require, could never have been done with the rest of the castle. I am sure this will make a very noble and masculine show, and it is of as warrantable a kind of building as any. . . . There is so much money required for public good this year, that my Lord Treasurer can't afford us at Blenheim half what we want : however, there will a great deal be done ; and two summers more will finish it. My Lady Duchess was there lately, and returned to Windsor so entirely pleased, that she told me, she should live to have to beg my pardon for ever having quarrelled with

me; and I find she declares the same thing to the Lord Treasurer and to everybody. My Lord Carlisle has been a good while in town, won 2,000*l.* from the sharpers, and is gone down again to lay it out in his buildings; but they are following him to have their revenge. We are here in great expectation about this Toulon expedition, since if it succeeds, it must bring things to a speedy issue. I wish it may, and that we may see your Lordship quickly here again.

“‘J. VANBRUGH.’

One sees from this note that the Shakspearian pile is not to undergo alterations that would disturb its character. The apartments occupied by Queen Katherine, the room in which she died, and the chapel which stands immediately behind it, are to remain untouched by the restorer's hand. Respectful Van! The gossip about Blenheim and the duchess is amusing. Sarah has been fierce against Van: for her friends hate him and scorn him. But her judgment is of masculine strength, and a glance at her new palace, rising gloriously on its green hill, has satisfied her soul. But will two summers more complete it? Van has not yet begun to feel the full want of funds as he will feel it in after years. Well for him that Lord Carlisle has won 2,000*l.* from the sharpers and is off to the north with his spoil. Castle Howard will require a good many thousands. Eight weeks later, the earl sent home, from Venice, his criticism on the plans for rebuilding Kimbolton—particularly objecting to the grand saloon that is to connect the drawing-room with Queen Katherine's bed-room—for has he not the grand hall? and is not one such space enough in a country house that is a dozen miles from the nearest town? But we shall find Vanbrugh (at page 250) defending his plans in a clear and manly way.

Nero fiddled while Rome was burning; and here we

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now have an Emperor of Germany composing cantatas while Europe was convulsed with political agitations. Joseph I., however, really loved harmonious strains, and was a man of such good sense on one point, that he would not permit his poets-laureate to praise him in their odes. "I like to hear good music," he used to say, "and I utterly abhor all flattery and even all praise!" He was the son of that little, gloomy Leopold whom German heralds called "the Great," and who had not the grace to thank Sobieski for saving Vienna for him, from the Turks. Joseph was liberally educated, and afforded some toleration to Protestants, and had reason to thank Marlborough for as great a service as Sobieski had rendered to his father—the salvation of his empire. The Jesuits thought it had been as well destroyed as saved by a heretic; and the death of Joseph by small-pox, four years after this letter was written, was held by them to be proof of his majesty having committed a crime in accepting support from an unorthodox source! How the poor emperor could have survived might now be explained. His doctors shut him up in a room, with a blazing fire, covered him with blankets, swathed him in scarlet cloth, gave him strong spiced drinks—and pretended to wonder that he died.

The name of Buononcini is probably not less familiar to our readers than that of the Emperor Joseph. The opera alluded to was no doubt 'Camilla,' which, partly adapted to English words, by Haym, set half England mad with delight, especially at Mrs. Tofts who killed a wild boar in it, to beautiful music, accurate time, and expressive English words, to which Valentini answered amorously in very choice Italian. It was the second opera in the Italian style produced in England (1707), the year in which Handel arrived and laid the foundations of that rivalry which led Swift to express his astonishment that such difference there should be 'twixt Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee!

In the next letter, when speaking of the new episcopal arrangements, Lord Halifax is not altogether correct. Offspring Blackhall succeeded Sir John Trelawney as Bishop of Exeter, in January 1708. He was a Tory, and a simple, able, pious man; a plain preacher, and, as a writer, not inefficient in controversy with Toland or Hoadley.

“Dawes will not be Bishop of Chester” was a false prophecy. The little man, who thought nothing of himself as a baronet, but very much of his office—of a priest, had once before lost a bishopric by preaching strenuously against Queen Anne’s ministry, in a 30th of January sermon. “You have lost a see by a sermon,” said a worldly friend. “I never thought of getting one by preaching,” answered doughty Dawes. But what Anne would not do for her doughty honorary chaplain in 1705, when Wake was translated from Lincoln to Canterbury, she did willingly in February 1708, by naming Dawes as the successor to Nicholas Stratford. He was subsequently translated to York, without desiring it; but Dawes took all things resignedly, even the scolding of his wife, relieved from whom by her death, he calmly remarked, “Mary now is *Mare Pacificum*,”—“Aye,” observed a sly friend, “but not till she had been *Mare Mortuum*.” Trimmell succeeded John Moore in Norwich, and was subsequently transferred to Winchester. He is emphatically spoken of as “that great reader of Shakspeare.”

LORD HALIFAX TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“July $\frac{17}{8}$, 1707.

“MY LORD,—Now your Lordship is got to Venice, one may hope a letter may find you at some greater certainty than while you was upon the road and shifting places every week. I return your Lordship a thousand thanks for the songs and the fine opera which you have sent me. The cantata of the Emperor’s own

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making is so good we suppose Buononcini had a hand in it, and I'm afraid he will excell his predecessor in music more than in politics. Mr. Tury is but newly arrived, and I have not yet tried the opera, but it promises well. We are in such expectation about Toulon that everything is at a stand on this side of the world, till the fate of that is known. Our friends are under some present discontent on the report of Dr. Blackhall and Sir William Dawes being designed to be Bishops, but I pray that matter will be compounded, Blackhall will be made Bishop of Exeter, but Dawes will not be Bishop of Chester, and Dr. Trimnell will be Bishop of Norwich. I am glad to hear your Lordship has been so well received in all places, and I hope this voyage will be short and pleasant and honourable to your Lordship,

“I am your Lordship's humble servant,

“HALIFAX.”

When the following letter from the Solicitor-General, Montagu, was written, the great question of the union of Scotland and England had been settled. There had been a strong desire on the part of the former for a federal union, but after a long course of diplomacy and political intrigues, the details of which may be found in Lockyer's Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland, the Incorporated Union, as the Scots called it, was carried, and Queen Anne went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks, and to hear an admonitory sermon from Talbot, Bishop of Oxford. But the charm of this letter is less in the narrative of the busy time which the Solicitor-General had had of it, in first carrying the union, and then in protecting England from certain commercial consequences of it—than in the illustration of life and manners connected with the marriage of Anne Wortley and Sidney Montagu.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“LONDON: July 29, 1707.

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“MY LORD,—I received yours of the 15th inst. yesterday, and though nothing can be more welcome to me than to hear of your Lordship’s health, yet I must own this letter from your Lordship did put me to some confusion, because the expressions therein are so wondrous obliging, that it will be impossible ever for me to make such acknowledgments as they require; and, besides, I ought not to have been so long without writing to your Lordship, but from the occasion of your congratulations, I hope your Lordship does not imagine I have been a very idle man since your departure; and (if anything can be allowed as an excuse) I can assure you I have scarcely had leisure to eat, drink, or sleep for these three months. Your Lordship left the Union just past, and I don’t doubt but you have heard what a battle the importation of French goods into Scotland before the 1st May—in order to bring the same into England after the Union should take place—occasioned in our parliament in England, in which I happened to have some share, in order to prevent a bill that was framed to overthrow the Union from passing. And what I did then has occasioned me five times as much trouble since, for there has scarce been a day since I was Solicitor-General that we have not been obliged to attend committees of English and Scotch lords to settle and adjust the methods that the affairs in Scotland must be carried on by; and I doubt we have many a weary step yet to take before we shall bring matters into any order there. I don’t find that many of our friends have been much consulted in the Scotch affairs, since the passing the Act of Parliament for the Union; but all that has been done is by the direction of the Lords Treasurers; and the more I see of the business, the more I am persuaded of your being right in the

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sentiments you have of him and them. Mr. Pocklington was certainly made a Welsh judge by the interest you had made for him ; and his patent was drawn to be put into Cox's room, but Mr. Secretary H——, Mr. Controller K——, and other of Cox's friends, got time enough to the queen, to save Cox ; and poor Lovell, the Recorder, was forced to be removed, to let Pocklington come into his place. Pocklington so little thought of his judgeship that he happened to be out of town when the directions were given for his being put in, and if he had not been admitted before the parliament was dissolved by the proclamation that came out the 30th April, he must have lost his membership in parliament, if he had accepted the office before the dissolution of the last parliament. So I had but a day to send to him and get him up ; but all things fell out well enough to effect it, and I find him very well satisfied with what you have done for him. I can't say that Wortley is so well pleased with what Lord Montagu has done ; nor, indeed, do I meet with anybody that does approve this late match. Lord M. says he was induced to consent to it because he knew Lady Ann was about marrying herself to Lord Harvey ; and then he was sure the major-general would have sold his grand-daughter, her portion being 12,000*l.*, and payable upon day of marriage. Lady S.'s view was to get the estate out of Wortley's management, but whether she will effect that or not I can't yet say. Wortley continues to dine at Lord M.'s, but they are but outwardly civil to one another. The two young couple are permitted to live together, but Lord H. is shortly to be sent abroad ; the difficulty at present is where to get his present maintenance, and I am apt to think the duke has taken a thorn out of Wortley's foot and put it into his own. This last month Lord H. was sent down with Dr. Silvester to ask his father's blessing at Wortley, and Wortley and his son went down a little before to re-

ceive them; but I can't find they have made much of the journey. Whatever errand they went upon, this is the present state of that affair, which I have been the more particular in, because your Lordship seemed desirous to have an account of it. My Lady Manchester was here a few days since, and did me the honour to dine with me. I am exceeding glad to hear Lord Mandeville is so well recovered of his late indisposition, which put us all in some concern till it was over. Lord Halifax is between this place and Hampton Court, and I believe will not stir further from London this summer. All our thoughts are employed with what is doing in your parts. If Toulon happens to be taken, it will make some amends for our loss in Spain. I am afraid your Lordship speaks too much truth when you say we have not been rightly informed how our affairs go there; you'll contribute towards setting us right. Our bishopricks are not yet disposed of, and we are in pain lest they should not be given as we desire. Your Lordship sees, now I am got into writing to you, I know not when to have done; but the paper will allow me to add nothing more, but that I am your Lordship's very humble servant,

“MONTAGU.”

From general affairs we turn to those of an individual—in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE ; LORD PETERBOROUGH.

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THE first of the Dukes of Devonshire comes into notice, in the following letter, written by the sixth of the Dukes of Somerset. Both dukes were remarkable men. The latter was the famous proud duke, whose first wife, a Percy, paid him such respect that she never presumed to even place her hand upon his shoulder. Lord Cowper says of Somerset, in his Diary, "He appeared to me a false, mean-spirited man, at the same time he was a pretender to the greatest courage and steadiness." There was much absurdity, with much vanity, pomposity, and inconsistency in his character. He once lost an election rather than spend an additional forty pounds towards gaining it. The Duchess of Marlborough states in one of her letters, that the duke, at the christening of his daughter, "gave the nurses a hundred guineas, and yet when they lived with him, he would not allow them better than a sea-coal fire."

The Duke of Devonshire, whose death is here announced, is the same whom Evelyn met at Newmarket in 1699, where, to his astonishment, he saw his Grace lose sixteen hundred pounds at gambling. The duke, however, must be ranked among the foremost men of his day. He was a pupil of Dr. Killigrew, and had been a member of the Long Parliament. He was with the Duke of York on the 3rd of June 1665, when, at the cost of one ship, the English fleet destroyed or captured thirty-two men-of-war. The Montagus were interested in him, for he had accompanied Mr. Mon-

tagu on his embassy to France, in 1669. It was on that occasion that, being in the French Opera House, he was so rudely treated by some French officers, that he selected the rudest, soundly smacked his face, and drawing his sword, bade the other defend himself. But not only did the officer do so, all his friends drew with him, and the Englishman had to keep his life against the assaults of half a dozen furious men. This, however, he did bravely, calmly, sternly, and effectively; but not without receiving many wounds and losing much blood, but therewith the fame of his deed was spread over Europe, and his name was everywhere repeated with enthusiasm.

He was quite as bold, fearless, and honest in his political career at home. He was a patriot when patriotism was dangerous to him who professed or practised it; and he defended the rights of the people and the power of parliament, without wishing to infringe the prerogative of the king, unless in cases where it was abused. To such a man, the heroic Russell was almost an idol whom he might worship. There was no pretence in this profound regard carried nearly to adoration, for when Russell lay a prisoner in expectation of death, Devonshire offered to change clothes with him, and to remain in his place in prison, accepting all consequences, while Russell made his escape. The romantic offer was declined, and wisely, for its consequences might have imperilled two good and great men instead of one.

This evidence of his sentiments and the fact of his warmly supporting the Exclusion Bill, which would have deprived James of his right of succession to the crown, made the latter a bitter enemy of the then Earl of Devonshire, and eager to take vengeance on him. An opportunity soon offered. Colonel Culpepper, on what ground is not positively known, passed some insult on the earl, within the verge of the court, and soon after

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James's accession. The fiery earl followed the colonel into the very presence-chamber, and taking the colonel by the nose, led him into the ante-room. An offence so serious, an assault on a man within the very palace of the king, could not be overlooked. A few years before, it might have cost the offender his hand, at least, and now the penalty was by no means a light one. The earl was solemnly proceeded against, and on conviction, he was sentenced to pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds, and, though a peer, to imprisonment in the King's Bench. The earl, however, broke prison, and made good his escape into Derbyshire. The object of the government in proceeding to recapture him was not so much his person as his purse. The high sheriff of the county was accordingly directed to raise the *posse comitatus*, make seizure of the earl, and send him under close guard to London. His lordship gave the sheriff infinite trouble, and evaded, as long as he could, either paying the enormous fine or putting himself in the way of being shut up in prison.

The Earl of Devonshire was probably influenced by the reflection, that the king, who was so fiercely exacting, was indebted to the Devonshire family in twice the sum now demanded of him. The earl's father and grandfather had been among the stoutest, most active, and least selfish of the adherents of the Stuarts in the day of their deepest distresses. Those noblemen had advanced to this king and his predecessor loans amounting to 60,000*l.*, for which the lenders held the bonds and acknowledgments of their royal debtors. These documents were in the hands of the countess-dowager; and she offered to make surrender of the whole, on condition of her son being exempted from further prosecution. But the royal mind distinguished the vastness of the difference between being forgiven an old debt, the acquittance of which was not a serious thought on the part of the debtor, and the obtaining a present sum

under a legal pretext. No set-off was allowed, with respect to the king's obligations, which he scorned to reduce to one-half by letting the earl go scot free. Accordingly, Derbyshire was rendered too hot for the latter to dwell in tranquilly; and, after much vexatious process, the earl was compelled to purchase his personal liberty by entering into a bond to pay the fine whenever he might be called upon to do so.

King James locked up the document among other papers of importance which might serve him in an emergency, but he neglected to take those papers with him when great Nassau came to disturb his household and to subvert his throne. The deeds, therefore, fell into the hands of King William, of whom the Earl of Devonshire was as stanch a supporter as his sire and grandsire had been of the Stuarts. William rewarded this faithful follower by surrendering to him the bond, and giving with it (in 1694) the patent of a duke; a cheap way of recognising very great services.

Meanwhile, the earl indulged his peculiar taste for building and decorating; and modern, princely Chatsworth, with all its magnificence, to which both Greece and Italy contributed, may be said to have been the work of his hands. To its completion and perfection he gave up much, but not the whole, of his time; for when most engaged therewith, he found or created leisure enough, after he despaired of inducing King James to reign according to constitutional law, to further the objects of the Prince of Orange. For *his* service, the earl raised a regiment, moved Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire to "pronounce" against the king, who had refused to call a parliament chosen by the free voices of the people, and in favour of that king's son-in-law, who had promised to secure the civil and religious liberties of the country on a firm and lasting basis.

Honours fell thick upon him from the grateful hand

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of William, to whom this, the first and greatest of the Dukes of Devonshire, offered no servile homage, but with whom he took an honest and hearty freedom. This was particularly manifest in his remonstrances with the king on religious politics. If the duke had found James II. too Popish, he found William III. too exclusively Protestant, and he reminded the latter sovereign, on one occasion, that he, the Prince of Orange, had come over to England to defend the Protestants and not to persecute the Papists.

The duke's style of living was after the profuse and gorgeous fashion of much earlier days. After the feudal period, he lived like a feudal lord, with scarcely less than that lord's pride, but with more than his magnificence. At the famous congress held in Holland, in the year 1690, where richly dressed sharpers elbowed as costly attired princes and deputies, and where few got so drunk as the German legates, and none were so sober as the Dutch members, the state held by the, then, Earl of Devonshire, who was in attendance on the king, equalled that of a monarch, and excited admiration, criticism, and envy. Then, he was as brave of heart as he was splendid in his tastes—brave as the sovereign was, to whom he fulfilled the office of steward of his household. The two were together in the little shallop which bore Cæsar and his fortunes, in that famous storm off the Dutch coast, which threatened to destroy both Cæsar and his steward, but in presence of which both sat, unawed, with the cheerful tranquillity of true courage. Haughty and irritable, his indiscreet sarcasms on the conduct of William's government occasionally exposed him to censure, and even to peril; but the king had full confidence in his loyalty, and this confidence was never abused. At the consecration of Tillotson to the archbishopric of Canterbury—to attend which, Queen Mary's drawing-room was deserted—there was no more prominent figure than Devonshire,

who was anxious to mark his respect for a man whose appointment had given so much umbrage to the ultra-Tories.

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When Queen Anne ascended the throne, and soon after manifested the strength of her Tory inclinations, she, nevertheless, left the duke undisturbed in his places; but he, on his side, made no sacrifice of his principles. The bill against occasional conformity had passed the House of Commons, supported, as it was, by the Tory party; but it was a bill which in reality abolished all religious freedom, and the Duke of Devonshire opposed it with such vigour in the House of Lords, that the disgraceful measure there miscarried. The duke was equally active and successful in defending the civil liberty, of individuals as of the community generally; and he was one of the famous sixty-one against thirty, who, after the long and hot debate touching the peril which was supposed to menace the Church, carried a resolution to the effect that the Church of England, under God's blessing, was in a safe and flourishing condition, and that whoever went about insinuating that the Church was in danger under her Majesty was an enemy to that sovereign lady, the Church, and the kingdom.

Altogether, the duke was one of the foremost gentlemen of his day; that is, he was a well-bred, honourable, patriotic man, endowed with fine tastes in which he could indulge, and influenced by what used to be called "just notions and impressions of religion." With all this, however, the duke had his fashionable weaknesses, common to orthodox and patriotic, as well as to the more "fine" gentlemen of those days. The old duke, a married man with a family, had a *tendre* for the pretty vocalist, Miss Campion. She was a mere child, only eighteen, when she died, in 1706, a year before the duke. That death ought not to have seriously afflicted him, seeing that his duchess was alive and the

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honoured mother of his children ; but it seems to have hastened his own end, and to have affected, in some degree, his senses—for his Grace saw Miss Campion buried in his own family vault, at Latimers, Buckinghamshire ; and there he raised a monument to her memory, and placed above it an inscription which probably puzzled the country gentlemen—for in tough Latin it eulogised her exceeding wisdom, her unselfish and almost excessive charity, and the modesty and purity which she exhibited when among stage-players—which she hardly preserved, it is to be feared, when she became connected with the peerage ; for the old duke speaks of the young sleeper in that tomb of the Cavendishes, as one over whose “beloved remains” he had felt bound to raise a monument sacred to her memory.

The duke’s wife survived him. Whatever she may have thought of the funeral honours paid to the beautiful vocalist, whom a hectic fever carried off at the age of eighteen, cannot now be conjectured. Perhaps such a tribute affected her but slightly, for she was the daughter of a man whose own fidelity to woman was not remarkable. She was the daughter of the Duke of Ormond, who was faithless even to the lady he was wooing to become his wife. That lady was the daughter of the Earl of Desmond. She had a bosom friend in Lady Isabella Rich, and she became the bosom friend too of that lady’s lover. The consequences induced her to withdraw to France, the daughter of the Desmond knowing not wherefore. The friendship which existed between the two ladies, which has been already referred to, was never broken ; but of that we shall have better assurance, when the letters referring to “Poor Belle,” and recently discovered—so it is reported—at Kilkenny, shall be published.

LORD SOMERSET TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"LYNN: August 19, 1707.

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" My Lord Duke of Devonshire died yesterday morning after having been ill near a month with gout and stone. I have not heard what his circumstances were, nor who are the persons to share the honours he enjoyed in his life; you will have it by this post from some other who knows things better than I do.

"Lady Ella Savage, as old as she is, has a youthful thought for a very young man, Sir John whom she married last week. I am going for a month to Petworth, and then I return to wait on the queen to Newmarket, where she intends to be the last day in September or the first in October, if the prince be well and able to perform the journey, which hitherto, God be praised, he is better than I have seen him a great while. . . .

"SOMERSET."

The appearance of Lord Peterborough in town seems to be a mere item of gossip in the letters below from Lewis and Addison, but it led to a very important step on the part of parliament. At the command of the House of Lords, he made a recital of all that had been done in Spain, leaving the blame for ill success there, on Galway, Trawley, and Stanhope, for carrying on an offensive war there, instead of a defensive one, as recommended by himself in a council of war, held at Valencia. He added, that the queen and ministers had supported the three lords above named, and directed them to pay little regard to his opposition. The three lords thus implicated defended themselves, but the house took Peterborough's view, and laid all the reverses to our arms in Spain, to the resolutions taken at that council of war in Valencia.

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What followed merits attention. The house desired to know what had passed before the queen in council, when the measures of Galway, Tyrawley, and Stanhope were approved, and the proposal of Lord Peterborough censured. The members present at the council were, accordingly, relieved by the queen from their oath of secrecy, and Marlborough, Godolphin, Sunderland, and Cowper acknowledged that they had supported an offensive war as a measure likely to be the most effective and the least costly. On which, the house resolved that thereby the battle of Almanza was lost and the design upon Toulon had miscarried.

Never before had a Privy Council been so questioned, or a resolution made by it in the royal presence been thus censured. Such resolutions had been heretofore held to be the act of the monarch, after hearing the opinions of his advisers, and it had been always treated with silent respect. The queen, to sacrifice her old ministry, and expose them to reproach, injured her prerogative, and by this precedent made a resolution in council a fit subject for parliamentary enquiry.

MR. E. LEWIS TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: August 26, 1707.

“MY LORD,—Your Excellency will be surprised to hear that Lord Peterboro’ has been in London a week, and not yet waited upon her Majesty, but much more so that he should stipulate for conditions and declare that he will not acquit himself of that duty till he has assurances he will be well received. I believe indeed now he would not be received if he attempted it, for orders have been sent to him to prepare a relation in writing of what he has done abroad in execution of his commission, pursuant to a clause in his first and general instructions whereby he is obliged at his return to give the sovereign an exact account of his negotiations and transactions. One Mr. Scott, whom your Excellency

may remember to have seen in Paris, being in quality of governor to the present Earl of Leicester, and now one of the chamberlains at Hanover, has been here for some time, and entered into several little intrigues to promote the invitation ; but the Elector disavows him, and has ordered him to return to his post, Mr. Schutz has likewise declared that what Mr. Scott did was without instructions. It is generally believed that the present Duke of Devonshire will have his father's staff, and that your Excellency will have your guards again ; I heartily wish it, and that your Excellency may not part with 'em if you come to be Secretary of State. It is thought my Lord Rivers may join with the malecontents next year. I am, with the greatest respect, etc. etc.

“ E. LEWIS.”

We hear more of Devonshire and Peterborough in this letter from Addison :—

MR. ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ WHITEHALL: Aug. 29, 1707.

“ MY LORD,—We have received the bad news of the Duke of Savoy's having raised the siege of Toulon, which has given a great deal of spirit to the malecontents, who now pretend that it was one of the most chimerical and impracticable projects that could have been concerted. We expect Mr. Stepney every moment from Holland, who is much better than he was, and our physicians, from reading his case, give us great hopes that they shall be able to recover him, with the help of the bath and his native air. My Lord Peterborough has been in town almost a fortnight, but has not yet waited on her Majesty. His Lordship says that, being struck out of the Privy Council, he thinks it improper to go to court till he is sent for. I hear he gives intimations among his friends of his intending to be very active in the next parliament. Lord Rivers is very ill

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satisfied with Lord Galway's conduct, and talks publicly to that effect. This, and our miscarriage before Toulon, may produce a warm session ; but we are still in hopes the Duke of Marlborough will come to our relief, and set things right again, as he has done formerly, when affairs were in a more desperate posture. George Fielding, the equerry, has married a gentlewoman with 3,000*l.* in money, and 300*l.* a year after the death of a relation. My Lord Sunderland will return to his office the beginning of next week. . . .

“The Duke of Devonshire, a little before his death, gave Dr. Garth a very fine diamond ring off his finger. His son is very much talked of to succeed in the office of Lord High Steward of the household.

“I am, with great respect, etc. etc.,

“J. ADDISON.”

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SINGERS AND STATESMEN ; COUNCIL CHAMBER AND
OPERA HOUSE.

LORD MANCHESTER, as has been already remarked, was sent to Venice on a special mission. The following letter from our ambassador adds some items to the amount of general information connected with the affairs of Europe, and the conduct of the war ; but perhaps the most singular portion of it is that wherein a resemblance is sought, or fancied, between the methods of conducting legislative business in the Venetian Senate and the House of Commons. The parallel is not unlike that of Fluellin, who found such close similitude between Macedon and Monmouth.

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FROM LORD MANCHESTER TO THE LORD TREASURER.

“VENICE: Sept. 16, 1707.

“MY LORD,—I have the honour of your Lordship’s from Windsor, wherein you acquaint me with her Majesty’s pleasure in relation to this republic, which I shall now soon be in a condition to obey, being to make my entry next Wednesday, and I have my first audience the day after. The method here is so different from other courts, that till this is over one can make no proposition to them, which has made me make all the dispatch I could possibly. I do find they are still too fond of their neutrality, so that I fear they will hardly be brought into the grand alliance upon any terms, especially now the army under the Duke of Savoy has not only left Toulon, but is retired into Piedmont, so

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that it seems all is over on that side, for this campaign, which I suppose will be as great a surprise in England as it was here. This occasions various conjectures and discourses; where has been the neglect I will not say; nor am I truly informed, though I think it might have been otherwise. I cannot tell but this turn of affairs here may possibly change the measures resolved on, that we may not think of entering France on this side any more, which cannot be done but by making vast magazines, and at a very great expense. Neither do I find that disposition in France of assisting us that I did imagine, but quite the contrary has appeared. These confidences will make me impatient till I have some further directions; in the meantime, I will prepare the senate here, that I may execute her Majesty's orders with greater force. I can compare the senate to nothing so like as a House of Commons with us, only with this difference: that there we know everyone's opinion, but here it is often carried contrary to expectation by the number of balls delivered in. This method is used, and must be in everything that relates to the republic, which makes it tedious and very uncertain. I do perceive your Lordship takes it for granted the Duke of Savoy will continue in France, as I must own I always expected, whether we did succeed at Toulon or not; but, it being otherwise, makes me think it proper to defer a little longer mentioning to the republic anything in relation to their furnishing a number of troops to the allies, lest now there should be no occasion for them; besides, they are much apprehensive they will soon have a war with the Turks, so that if they were disposed to grant it, I do not know whether they could. Several regiments are already gone for Dalmatia, and more was intended, but stopped, on the Germans returning into the Milanese. I am assured there is lately passed, privately, a Turkish envoy, who is gone to Paris; this the senate has had advice of, which does not lessen their

apprehension. I must own I cannot make as yet any right judgment what they will do here. It is certain they think it their interest to be well with the queen and I believe would do everything to obtain it, but the breaking with France, which in effect is doing nothing, such a fatality attends them. To receive any directions from your Lordship is not a little satisfaction to me; and I shall endeavour so to act as I may deserve the continuation of your favour and protection.

“I am, etc.”

Lord Sunderland, it will be observed, still urged the Earl of Manchester to endeavour to stir the Venetians to take measures of active hostility, in conjunction with the allies, against France; but the Signory was cautious and polite—promised much and did nothing.

FROM LORD SUNDERLAND TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: Sept. 25, 1707.

“MY LORD,—I have the honour of your Lordship’s of the 9th and 16th inst., N. S. I am very sensible there is but very little hopes, if any, of engaging the Venetians to declare against France, especially considering how unreasonable the Germans always are, when they have the superiority; however, it is worth trying for. Notwithstanding our disappointment at Toulon, we must go on with the same views of reinforcing our army in Italy as much as possible, and there is no way of doing it so easy as that of getting a body of the Venetian troops. Your Lordship will therefore continue to do all in your power to engage them. I believe my Lord Treasurer will write to your Lordship to the same effect. I am sorry to find our revolution at Naples is not like to continue so quiet as one would wish; but I wonder at nothing under a general administration.

“I am, with great truth and respect,

“Your Lordship’s obedient humble servant,

“SUNDERLAND.”

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The following letter resumes Vanbrugh's account of the alterations he was effecting in Kimbolton Castle, and contains a simple and manly defence of his own plans. The *Taleard* of this note was the illustrious prisoner of Blenheim; his loss of which battle procured for Vanbrugh the lucrative commission to build a new palace near Woodstock, for Tallard's conqueror:—

VANBRUGH TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

“LONDON: Sept. 9, 1707.

“MY LORD,—I find your Lordship is not without some fears things should not go quite right at Kimbolton, but if you have no greater objections than those you mention, I do not doubt but I shall see you entirely satisfied, though one cannot perhaps do it fully by letters. I do not deny but the Hall might be sufficient in such an apartment without any other great room, but it does not follow that the apartment is the worse for a second, and in this case it so falls out that there was no way of avoiding it, without (in my judgment) utterly spoiling the apartment within or the front without; both which are this way saved, and that only by adding one room of state, or, in truth, only making it a little bigger than was absolutely necessary. Another thing to be observed is, that there was no way of disposing the space to be divided with less expense than this way, for two small rooms cost more in finishing than one great one. As to the height, your Lordship says true, that they ought all to be eighteen feet, and so they will. We considered how to dispose the stairs down into the garden so as not to break too much into the terrace, and all that matter will be very well. Your Lordship says you would have the ceilings covered for painting as the Hall is; I am afraid they are too low for painting, nor will they admit of a covering very deep, but if your Lordship returns before this time twelve months, you will be time enough to consider the matter upon

the place, for I reckon the house will not be covered before Midsummer. I was there about six weeks since; it was then but six or seven feet high. I liked mighty well what was done, and Coleman owned he began to discover a gusto in it that he had no notion of before. I shall be much deceived if people do not see a manly beauty in it when it is up, that they did not conceive could be produced out of such rough materials; but it is certainly the figure and proportions that make the most pleasing fabric, and not the delicacy of the ornaments, a proof of which I am in great hopes to show your Lordship at Kimbolton. I am now going back to Blenheim for a fortnight, but next month I will make another trip down. I was at Windsor yesterday, and the Duke of Devonshire was sworn into his father's place of Steward, and a great dinner was prepared for him at the Green-cloth. His father left but a small estate after all, not above 10,000*l.*, as Sir James Forbes tells me. He says the estate comes to the present Duke charged with but 36,000*l.*, his sisters' portions and all things included, and there is due from tenants this Michaelmas 22,000*l.*, besides 5 or 6,000*l.* in ready money, and a personal estate in jewels, plate, and pictures, &c. to a very great value; so that he is left in a very good condition, and I fancy will keep himself so. I hear your Lordship is offered the place you formerly had, and that the Duke of Richmond is to have it if you refuse it. We have been a little dull here upon the disappointment at Toulon. I was with my Lord Dorchester and Dr. Carlisle to make Mons. Taleard a visit about three weeks since, who told us just how it would end, though we did not then believe him. I am obliged to your Lordship for your good wishes to me. I hope I shall rub through my difficulties at last, and be able to wait upon you sometimes in peace and quietness in the country. I most heartily wish your Lordship a speedy return into England and all happiness where

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you are now.—Being, with a great deal of sincerity, your Lordship's obliged and most obedient humble servant,

“J. VANBRUGH.”

In the same month that Vanbrugh's letter was penned (September 1707), Addison writes to announce the death of Mr. Stepney, the old Westminster boy, amateur poet, and commissioner of trade. On the 16th of the month, Addison says:—“Mr. Stepney died yesterday, and will be buried in Westminster Abbey. I need not tell you how much he is lamented by everybody here; and don't yet hear anybody named for his successor in the commission of trade, or envoyship. Old Mr. Stanhope, I hear, is dying.” Then follows a letter containing more news touching these men, well known in society, in their time, with notices of a greater man, better known than they, in our annals now:—

FROM ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: October 7–23, 1707.

“MY LORD,—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, and will to-morrow lay your bills of extraordinaries before my Lord Sunderland in order to get them signed before my Lord Treasurer goes to Newmarket.

“We had yesterday letters from Sir Cloudesley Shovel which say that, according to the most probable reports, the French had sunk twenty of their men-of-war, ten of which are three-deck ships, to prevent their being burnt. Our seamen here say that if they can be weighed up they will never be fit for service. The same letters add that the fire which the bombs had raised burnt so clear and with so much fury that our admiral concluded it came from the ships or arsenals, but that a rock which lay in the way hindered them from seeing how they fell. Mr. Stepney was buried last

night in Westminster Abbey. Old Mr. Stanhope is dead ; they say his daughter is going to be married to Mr. Vane, standard-bearer to the band of pensioners. I hear my Lord Peterborough is ordered to give in his accounts on Sunday next, to be examined by the Committee of Lords.

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“I am, with the greatest respect,

“Your Excellency’s obedient humble servant,

“J. ADDISON.”

In a subsequent letter, Addison completes Stepney’s history, by writing, in a letter addressed to Mr. Cole:—

“Mr. Stepney left to Mr. Prior a legacy of 50*l.*, to my Lord Halifax a golden cup and 100 tomes of his library, the rest of it to go to Mr. Lewis, and a silver urn and basin to Mr. Cardonnel. His estate is divided between his two sisters ; the best part of it lies in the Treasury, which owes him 7,000*l.* The observator is dead.

“I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

“J. ADDISON.

“7, 26, 1707.”

CHAPTER XV.

SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL.

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A RECORD of mischances at sea, told by the pen of Addison, follows. At the time this letter was written, Marlborough had left the army under his command, and the troops had gone, even at this early period of the year, into winter quarters.

The merchant fleet which was bound for Lisbon, and is alluded to below, was attacked by the Brest and Dunkirk squadrons, off the Lizard. Addison's supposition as to the number of ships captured by the enemy was correct. We lost three men-of-war, forming part of the convoy, besides several of the merchant ships. The queen's ship which was blown up was the Devonshire. The French also boarded the Royal Oak, but the crew swept the boarders from the deck, and contrived to reach Ireland in safety. But this event was a cause of great humiliation and sorrow in England, where the fact of an English ship, after battle, being merely "safe," was held to be a disgrace.

A greater disaster was the melancholy loss of Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, whose fate is told so well, in a few graphic words, by the great essayist.

There was a mixture of good fortune and disappointment throughout the life-long experiences of Shovel. He was born fifty-seven years before the catastrophe related below, of parents who were in a humble condition of life; but the Shovels were well connected; they had a well-to-do cousin named Cloudesley, and not being

without hopes of inheriting his property, they paid him the compliment of calling their son by his name.

Little Cloudesley Shovel was accordingly looked upon as a boy with fair expectations and bright prospects, but the expectations turned out to be fallacious, and his prospects were soon taken from another point of view. The cousin Cloudesley died, and left his namesake nothing. His parents compensated him and themselves for the disappointment, by binding the boy apprentice to a shoemaker!

Cloudesley Shovel did his duty, even under this calamitous circumstance, and derived advantage therefrom. He had an inclination for a naval life, and not only a desire, but a capacity for learning, comprehending, and mastering the details of the science of navigation. To accomplish this, his apprenticeship to shoemaking afforded him many a vacant hour, and when the young fellow had acquired as much as he thought might suit his first purpose, he presented himself to Sir Christopher Mynns as a candidate for the office of cabin-boy. He had the good luck to be accepted.

He soon had the impatience of able people in an inferior station, and longed to be above cabin-boy service. Luckily, Cloudesley fell under the notice of bluff Sir John Narborough, a naval commander of the old school which said little and struck hard. Narborough had started from a humble position, like Shovel, and he was always ready to give a helping hand to all who were running the same race. He gave that aid to young Cloudesley, who, under Sir John, so quickly made way, that when the latter was despatched with a squadron to Tripoli, in 1674, he took Shovel with him as one of his lieutenants.

The mission was rather a peaceable than a warlike one, but Cloudesley gave it the more lively aspect.

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The facts are these. The Tripoline corsairs had been plundering our merchant navy in the Mediterranean; to check this, Narborough was sent out with instructions to remonstrate, threaten, and negotiate; in short, to take every step with the Dey, except go to war with him, unless the latter course should be deemed inevitable and sure of success.

When the squadron arrived before Tripoli, Narborough sent Shovel to the Dey, in order to induce the barbarian to come to some satisfactory arrangement; but the Dey only laughed at the young lieutenant, and sent him back with an uncivil answer. Shovel was again commissioned not only to treat with the Dey, but to look about him and make such observations as might be useful, should the Dey prove rude. He proved ruder than before, but Cloudesley lingered about the fort and harbour as if he were waiting for a more gracious reply. This he did to such good purpose that, as a token of the sense entertained of the Dey's uncivil obstinacy, he entered the port, with a fleet of boats, on the night of the 5th of March 1675, and burned all the vessels in the harbour.

Thereby came promotion; under Charles II. Captain Shovel commanded the Saphire and the James; and throughout the reign of James II. he was captain of the Dover. Ship, crew, and captain went over to William of Orange, with alacrity; and Shovel bore himself with such distinction in the affair with the French, off Bantry Bay, where he commanded the Edgar, that William conferred on the brave fellow the honour of knighthood. Subsequently, in 1690, when the king set sail from Chester for Ireland, the royal ship and a fleet of transports were conveyed across Saint George's Channel by a squadron of men-of-war, under the command of Commodore Sir Cloudesley Shovel. To such height had risen the once shoemaker's apprentice.

In the following January, when William went to Holland, in the goodly company of Devonshire and Dorset, Monmouth, Norfolk, Ormond, Zulenstein, and Compton, Bishop of London, the precious lives that were all so nearly lost on the Dutch coast were under the convoy and safeguard of two great admirals, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir George Rooke. To this office the former admiral had been promoted for his prompt action in the Irish seas, but especially at Waterford. Kirke had in vain tried to capture the place, the garrison under Bourk, in Duncannon Castle, ever impeding him; but Sir Cloudesley came, lent Kirke men and guns from his ship, and by help of this naval squadron ashore, the stronghold of the Jacobites surrendered to its besiegers.

Then followed his masterly act which gave him so much of the glory reaped under Russell in the battle of La Hogue, where Sir Cloudesley administered the *coup de grâce* when, to use the words of an old biographer, "having weathered the admiral's own squadron, he got between them and the admiral of the blue, but, firing on the French for some time, both Tourville and the admiral of the squadron come to an anchor, but could not see each other, owing to the thickness of the weather."

In 1693, Sir Cloudesley, a determined Whig, shared the command of the fleet with Delaval and Killigrew, equally determined Tories. They had charge of that celebrated Smyrna fleet of merchant ships, which was protected so badly that Tourville scattered them over the ocean, and inflicted immense damage on England, in both money and prestige. This calamity, however, happened when Sir George Rooke had assumed the chief command of the convoying fleet. The Dutch, on this occasion, issued a caricature, in which the French were seen capturing the merchantmen, while Sir Cloudesley Shovel was represented on his own ship, with his hands

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tied behind him, and Killigrew and Delaval each holding an end of the cord, as if to prevent him from going into action.

Sir Cloudesley's explanations cleared his own character, and Montagu—the Attorney-General and most brilliant of rhetoricians—especially defended the Whig party from all suspicion of treachery.

Useful rather than brilliant were Shovel's next services. In the expedition against Brest under Lord Berkley, he at least secured the safe re-embarkation of the troops; he rendered similar effective aid in the affair at Dieppe; and if he failed in reducing Dunkirk, it was not till he had penetrated, in a boat, within the enemy's works, and had satisfied himself that the end in view was utterly impracticable.

The peace of Ryswick gave him leisure on shore, and under Queen Anne he brought home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleets from Vigo; with an inadequate, ill-trained, and scantily victualled force, he kept the French in constant alarm, and ended by beating them off Malaga, while Sir George Rooke did little more than look on, yet reaped a great share of the glory, Sir Cloudesley cheerfully assenting.

But for him, Lord Peterborough would hardly have besieged Barcelona successfully. Admiral Shovel lent him men and guns, and furnished him with supplies of food and ammunition. From Alicant, he was called to cooperate in the siege of Toulon, and after rendering this last service, he returned towards England with ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fire-ships, a sloop, and a yacht.

On the evening of October 22, 1707, through some mistake in the reckoning, the admiral's vessel, the *Association*, and several other ships of the fleet, got entangled among the rocks off the Scilly Isles, when ensued the calamity so graphically though briefly told in the following letter from Addison:—

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

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"COCK PIT: Oct. 28, 1707.

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship will hear by this post a great deal of melancholy news relating to our sea affairs. Within about a month we have had the following disasters:—Our Hamburgh fleet, when just entering the mouth of the river, were surprised in a storm that cast several of 'em on the coast of France, and made 'em prize to their privateers that put to sea on that occasion. About a week ago, our Lisbon fleet of 130 merchantmen, under convoy of 5 men-of-war, fell in with a squadron of 14 French, who blew up one of the queen's ships, and, as we suppose, took 3 more. We know not what number of the merchants escaped, but hope that most of them got into Ireland or proceeded for Lisbon, our ships having kept the French in play till the evening came on. On Sunday morning, an express came from Admiral Byng, with news that the great fleet, returning from the Straits and being near the Isles of Scilly, Sir Cloudesly Shovel's ship (the Association) struck on a rock. Admiral Byng passed by him within two cables' length of him, and heard one of his guns go off as a signal of distress, but the sea ran so very high that it was impossible to send him any succour. Sir George Byng adds that, looking after him, about a minute after the firing of the gun, he saw no lights appear, and therefore fears he sunk. Two other great ships are missing. Sir Cloudesly had on board with him two of his wife's sons by Sir John Narborough, a son of the Bishop of Winchester, another of Admiral Ailmer, and several other gentlemen. We are still willing to hope that he may have escaped in his long-boat, or be thrown on one of the islands, but it is now three days since we had our first intelligence. It was about eight o'clock at night when Sir G. Byng saw him in his distress. Your Lordship may believe

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so many misfortunes have raised great clamours in the City. Our last W. Indian packet-boat brought heavy complaints against Captain Kerr, a commodore in those parts, whom the Governor of Jamaica accuses of having refused convoy to their ships, and by that means to have lost the nation above 100,000 lbs. sterling (*sic*) in bullion, which was on board some of our sloops which fell into the hands of the French. I am sorry I must entertain your Lordship with such ill news ; but since such accidents have happened, I thought it proper to acquaint you with them. There is that noble spirit in the nation and our new British parliament that, I hope, will surmount all difficulties.

“The Venetian merchants are busy upon the enlargement of the articles of which I send your Lordship a draught, in order to form them into a treaty.

“I am, with the greatest respect,

“Your Lordship’s most obedient servant,

“J. ADDISON.”

Many young gentlemen of rank were on board the admiral’s ship, and perished with him. The Bishop of Winchester, who lost a son on this occasion, was the Right Rev. Sir John Trelawney, Bart., who had only recently been elevated to the episcopal bench. The annexed letter gives quite a different account of the discovery of the admiral’s body to that which has been usually received. The popular story is, that the Cornish fishermen or wreckers, having found the body, stripped it, and buried it in the sand after taking from the finger a fine emerald ring ; but that Mr. Paston, purser of the *Arundel*, hearing of the circumstance, saw the ring, declared it to be the admiral’s property, and, disinterring the body, carried it to England in his own ship.

MR. ADDISON TO MR. COLE.

"COCK PIT: Oct. 31, 1707.

"SIR,—Yesterday, we had news that the body of Sir Cloudesly Shovel was found on the coast of Cornwall. The fishermen who were searching among the wrecks took a tin box out of the pocket of one of the carcasses that was floating, and found in it the commission of an admiral; upon which, examining the body more closely, they found it was poor Sir Cloudesly. You may guess the condition of his unhappy wife, who lost, in the same ship with her husband, her two only sons by Sir John Narborough. We begin to despair of the two other men-of-war, and fireship, that engaged among the same rocks, having yet received no news of them.

"I am, Sir, your faithful humble servant,

"J. ADDISON."

In such wise closed the life of the gallant admiral and ex-shoemaker. His honours were extinct, but his blood was not. His eldest daughter married Sir Robert Marsham, the first Lord Romney of that line, and the present earl is the great-great-grandson of Shovel's daughter. That lady's second husband was the Earl of Hyndford, a Scottish title which became extinct in the year 1817.

CHAPTER XVI.

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH PEERS.

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A PART from the pleasant gossiping details in the next letter, from the Solicitor-General to his kinsman abroad, there is much matter of general interest also. The parliament alluded to was the first parliament of *Great Britain*; and on the 23rd of October had elected Mr. Smith as its speaker. One of its members was that Mr. Asgill who was expelled the house for having published a book in which he maintained that a man might pass to immortality through other ways than the inevitable portals of death. The honourable member's book was burned by the hands of the common hangman.

The reference to the Union is reference to a subject which then occupied most minds, but chiefly those of the Scots, some of whom were wont to say that May 1, 1707, was a day never to be forgotten by the country, which then lost its sovereignty and freedom. Ingenuity discovered some curious coincidences connected with the great Act. Thus, the first article of that Act was approved of on November 4 — and that was found to be the anniversary of the birthday of “our Dutch Saviour,” as the Scots ironically called King William. Then the Act for the reduction of the Scottish peerage was passed on January 8, and people remarked that, on that day, the warrant for the slaughter at Glencoe was signed, and that the Earl of Stair, who signed it, hung himself on the same day. On January 16, the Articles of Union had been ratified,

and it was on that day of the month that Charles Stuart had been condemned. The dissolution of the Scottish parliament, or kingdom, took place on March 25, which was then the first day of the year in the English calendar, so that Scotland had a pretty new year's present from the sister-country; and finally, the *Equivalent*, or the price of Scotland, reached Edinburgh on August 5; the day, as was pointed out, on which the Earl of Gowrie designed to perpetrate his horrid conspiracy against James VI.

Under the new regulations for trade, many new posts were created, in the customs and excise especially, and Scotsmen complained that *they* were not appointed to fill them, but that those appointments were conferred on "the Scum and Canalia of England," who treated the natives with contempt.

Even England had its joke in this matter. A Scottish merchant, travelling southward to London, expressed his fears to the landlady of an inn on the road, lest he should be robbed by highwaymen.

"Highwaymen!" exclaimed the good lady. "Nay, you need be under no apprehensions on that score; all the highwaymen are clean gone out of the country."

"Clean gone!" said the astonished Scotsman. "Where are they gone to?"

"Well, sir," replied mine hostess, "they are all gone to Scotland, to get places."

The reference to Lord Brooke, in the subjoined letter, will be better understood, if it be remembered that the Countess of Manchester was daughter and one of the co-heirs of Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, whose brother, Fulke Greville, was then in the enjoyment of the title. It was the great-grandson and third successor of the latter who became the first Earl of Warwick of that line. He has been rendered memorable by Walpole's allusion to his impartiality: "He

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gives one vote on one side and one on the other, and the third time does not vote at all; and so on regularly."

FROM J. MONTAGU TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"Nov. 10, 1707.

"MY LORD,—It is no small satisfaction to us here to find that the queen is not unmindful of your Lordship while you are at this great distance; and I understand her Majesty has expressed herself well pleased with the letter your Lordship wrote to my Lord Treasurer about the offer that has been made you. My Lord Halifax, I can assure you, has been very solicitous about this affair, but not knowing whether or no your Lordship would like your old office again, after being in a much greater post, was resolved not to write to you himself about it, but leave it to be communicated to you by my Lord Treasurer, who can only give you assurance of the equivalent, and I hope you will find it made good to your satisfaction. I own, for my part, I was ready enough to have given you my advice to accept the office, because it is out of the way and worth money, and equivalents are not always punctually paid; but I was, in a manner, ordered not to say anything to you about it, because you might have that done which you yourself like best. My Lady Manchester hath been lately in town about Mr. Hobeys will, which she suspects is suppressed, because none but a very old one is produced; and I have with her discoursed Mr. Harrison, but can make nothing out to either of our satisfactions. They pretend to say he is dead, much in debt; if that be so, I think we ought to get in the 2,500*l.* that is due to your Lordship as soon as may be. At present I don't know how that sum is owed, whether by bond or otherwise, therefore much desire your Lordship would inform us about it. My Lady, I perceive, has a mind to have the money to be paid, toward satisfaction of some

debts that are owing among the tradesmen. But your Lordship knows that can't be done without my Lord Brooke's consent, at least, in regard you have covenanted with him to discharge the Huntingdonshire estate of Lady Betty Montagu's mortgage as soon as Mr. Hobey's money became payable. My Lady Manchester has desired me to write to Lord Brooke about it, but I held it properer to have your Lordship's thoughts about it before we mentioned to anybody besides; and I believe your Lordship may let us hear from you more than once before, though Hobey will be ready to pay in the money. Our parliament met to do business this last Monday, when there were great expressions of mighty dissension amongst us members of the House of Commons, concerning the determining whether this parliament were a new or an old parliament. Mr. Harley and his friends were last week for determining it to be the old parliament, continued on by the late Act of Parliament concerning the Union, in order to keep in such members as have offices; but the major part of the House being rather of opinion that the parliament was a new one, the matter was at length compromised by agreeing to part with such officers as are declared incapable to sit and vote in any parliament which shall be holden from and after the determination of the last; and so the day, that before looked cloudy, cleared up, and we unanimously went to work as usual, with voting thanks to the queen for her most gracious speech, and an address to assure her we will do all we can to perfect the Union at home, and carry on the war abroad with vigour. I hear from all hands that the little Lord Mandeville is a highly promising child. Lady Anne is so grown I should not have known her had she not been with my Lady. Mr. Pocklington tells me he lately left all the rest of your family very well at Kimbolton, and joins with me in the tender of our services to your Lordship; and a happy meeting with you here

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in this island is very much wished for by your Lordship's most faithful, humble servant,

"J. A. MONTAGU."

Lord Granville, whose death Addison records in the annexed letter, was "Granville of Potheridge," second son of the first Earl of Bath—a title which in the Granville family was only inherited by the son and grandson of the first earl—who owed the dignity, perhaps, to the services of his father, Sir Bevil Granville, slain in the fight on Lansdowne. He was one of the few, if not the only man trusted by Charles and Monk to bring about the Restoration.

Between the Earl of Bath and Lord Montagu a celebrated trial took place at the close of the seventeenth century, for an estate of a thousand a year, which had been left by the Duke of Albemarle. The suit was gained by Lord Montagu, the will on which Lord Bath relied being declared to be a forgery. Twelve days after the death of Lord Bath, his eldest son and successor shot himself. The heir of the latter died unmarried in 1711; and as the uncle of this heir, the Lord Granville of Addison's letter, died childless, in 1707, the earldom of Bath became, in the Granville line, extinct.

FROM ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"Nov. 6, 1707.

"MY LORD,—My Lord Granville died about two days ago of an apoplectic fit. Sir James, of the Peak, will, I hear, be made a Commissioner of the Appeals in the room of Mr. Beal, deceased. There has lately been a great debate in a committee of the House of Commons, whether the Privy Council should be continued in Scotland. The Speaker (SMITH), Attorney-General, Mr. Harley, Mr. Walpole, were for the affirmative; the Solicitor-General, Sir Richard Onslow, Peter King, &c., for the negative. The Scotch members were divided,

and spoke very largely, and they say well, on each side, the rest of the House remaining silent for two hours, and giving an obliging attention to their new brethren. The majority appeared to be so great for dissolving the present Privy Council, that there was no division upon it. I hear the arguments on each side were as follow : Those who were for continuing the Privy Council did not propose it for ever, but only during the present juncture of affairs, while the minds of the people were unsettled, and not altogether reconciled to the Union. They said the common enemy were watching all opportunities to take their advantage of the misunderstanding that reigned in part of the nation, and that therefore it seemed absolutely necessary to keep up such an authority upon the spot as might overawe all turbulent spirits, and quash any commotion in its first birth. The other side urged that, if the Privy Council were continued, it would return to the British parliament forty-five members that would all have but one will ; and, notwithstanding there was no danger during the present ministry, and the will would be turned to the good of the public, it might be a great inconvenience to have such a dead weight all on one side. It was further added, that if the council was not dissolved at present, there would be greater difficulty to do it hereafter, since, in all probability, the forty-five members that would be returned to the next parliament would be unanimously against it. This is what we hear out of the House was the most essential part of the controversy, which, for want of other news, I make bold to trouble your Lordship with.

“I am, my Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most obedient, humble servant,

“J. ADDISON.”

With the next year, we fall again into company with Peterborough. By courage, talent, and happy temerity—as his enemies called the wise and brilliant audacity

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a man whom they could not accuse of cowardice, or sneer at for failure—Peterborough had captured the almost impregnable Barcelona, sword in hand; had overcome large armies, with small means of his own, and had driven Philip V. and a French army out of Spain, though that army numbered treble the bayonets which bristled in the force under Peterborough.

Thereby Lord Galway was enabled to advance to Madrid; and had the king, Charles III., whose pretensions we supported, accompanied or followed him, his position in Spain would probably have been safe. Because it lacked this safety, Charles seems to have found a pretext for quarrelling with the most brilliant and most fortunate of his champions; and Peterborough was in consequence recalled from the Peninsula, and compelled to defend his proceedings before his peers in parliament. That he would do this gaily, even with ostentatious gaiety, was to be expected, and in such light Addison describes this romantic general and eccentric gentleman.

The “Duke of Normanby” may sound like a new title to some persons, but it was well known and recognised when Addison wrote. He who then bore it was Dryden’s friend, John Sheffield. He had been created Duke of the county of Buckingham and of Normanby four years before this letter was written. His duchess was the divorced wife of James Annesley, the third Earl of Anglesea—divorced, not for any fault of her own, but because of his cruel ill-usage. She was the daughter of James II. by Catherine Sedley, and always kept up a royal assumption in tone and speech and manners, which exposed her to ridicule. Before her marriage she was known as Catherine Darnley, and it was through the marriage of her daughter by the Earl of Anglesea, with William Phipps, that the name of Normanby was chosen to grace the title of Marquis conferred on the descendant of that marriage, the late Lord Normanby. The Duchess of Buckinghamshire, as

she is sometimes called, was undoubtedly the Atossa of Pope; every line he writes in that matter is applicable to the Duchess of Buckinghamshire, and not to the Duchess of Marlborough.

The duke noticed in this letter had but one successor, and such of John Sheffield's estate as did not go by will to his natural son, Sir Charles Herbert, passed a century later, after much advertisement for an heir, to two Irish ladies, sisters, named Walsh.

Of the Earl of Rochester here noticed, some account has been already given. He was the first of the two Hydes who bore that title, after it had been successively worn by one Carr, and three Wilmots.

FROM J. ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“MY LORD,—The House of Lords are at present on my Lord Peterborough's expedition, on which they have sat very late two days successively, but rose without coming to any resolution. This day it is ordered that several papers relating to that subject shall be read. I hear the first article which my Lord spoke to was the taking up money at so great an interest, and the going into Italy for that end without any commission from her Majesty. His Lordship has been extremely long in his speeches on that occasion, and shows a more than ordinary gaiety in his behaviour, both in the house and out of it, ever since this affair has been in agitation. I don't hear that any of the Lords have yet declared their opinion against his Lordship's proceedings in the house, though enough has passed there to show that the Duke of Normanby, Lord Rochester, &c., are well-wishers to his Lordship's cause. I hear the Duke of Marlborough yesterday, upon his Lordship's making an excursion into some other subject, intimated that he thought it would be for his Lordship's service to clear one point before he proceeded to another, and that therefore he believed

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his Lordship would do well to explain the money affair first, and then go on to the other points. The Lord Treasurer, they say, spoke to the same effect. But the Duke of Normanby and Earl of Rochester said that his Lordship not being accused before the house, they were obliged to him for giving them so ample an account of the Spanish War as he had done, and that he was at liberty to speak of it in what form he pleased. We shall shortly see the issue of this affair.

“I am, my Lord, your Lordship’s obedient humble servant,

“ J. ADDISON.

“ January 16, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.”

From gossip we turn to business ; merely, however, to record an attempt to extend our trade, which failed of ultimate success, but which deserves to be registered :—

FROM LORD SUNDERLAND TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ WHITEHALL : January 16, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.

“ MY LORD,—I have the honour of your Lordship’s of the 16th inst., N. S. I am entirely of your opinion that nothing is to be expected from the Republic, at least as to any entering into the alliance, nor much, I fear, as to the affair of commerce ; however, that nothing may be wanting on the queen’s part, I am commanded to send your Lordship the enclosed copy of a draft of a treaty of commerce which the merchants here have prepared. I believe there are some things in it which will not be very easy to obtain ; but your Lordship will be the best judge of that, when you have tried their inclination.

“ I am always, with the greatest respect,

“ Your Lordship’s most obedient servant,

“ SUNDERLAND.”

CHAPTER XVII.

ADDISON AND HARLEY.

ADDISON'S letters are so diversified in their contents, that to annotate them completely would make the comment greatly increase upon the text. The following, for instance, travels widely different ways, but in no direction without interest:—

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ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"Jan. 20, 1707

"MY LORD,—The House of Lords have for some time been taken up with the examination of Commodore Kerr, who was last year with a little squadron in the West Indies. The merchants accuse him of having neglected to convoy their trade in those parts, and by that means given the French an opportunity of taking from us above 100,000 tons. They say that he offered them convoy on condition that they would give him a sum of money, but they refusing to come up to his price he would not go along with them. The question was put whether the merchants had made good their allegations against him; and carried in the affirmative. It was observed all the Scotch body were for bringing him off, and of the English, only the Duke of Bucks with the Earls of Torrington and Caermathen. I should have told your Lordship, that he is a North Britton. Mangridge, the person that made his escape after a sentence of death passed upon him, for the murder of Sir John Cope's son, is taken up in Flanders, and will be transmitted to Tyburn.

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“(This letter should have been sent to your Lordship on Friday, but was mislaid in the making up of the packet.)

“February 3rd. On Thursday last the House of Commons were in a ferment upon the Spanish affairs, a question being started, how many of the twenty-nine thousand, that were allowed and provided for by Act of Parliament, were in Spain at the battle of Almanza. Mr. St. John, who was not prepared for such a question, did not, they say, make out more than eight thousand, upon which the whole party, and a few of the country Whigs, began to grow warm. Sir J. Hanmore, I hear, was the chief in one side of the debate, which, however, was carried against them, as your Lordship will see, in the votes of that day—I think by eighteen voices. The further consideration of that affair was fixed to this day.

“It is now near ten o’clock at night, but the debate is not yet over, though I hear all things are fully cleared to the satisfaction of the House.

“I am, my Lord, your Lordship’s most obedient and most humble servant,
“J ADDISON.”

It may be added here, with reference to the West Indies, in whose seas our merchantmen were in such frequent peril, that both Houses of Parliament laid before the queen their unanimous opinion that no treaty of peace would bring honour or safety to this country, if the West Indies, or indeed if Spain itself, were allowed to remain under the sceptre of the Bourbon. There-with, an energetic prosecution of the war was urgently recommended, not to say insisted on.

But, if an omelette cannot be made without a breaking of eggs, so war is not to be carried on without a sacrifice of men, and the question of how these are to be had, as discussed in the House of Commons, is prettily treated by Addison.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“MY LORD,—I am very much obliged to your Lordship for the honour of your letter of the 20th inst., which came to my hands this morning. The House of Commons are now fallen hard to business since their Christmas recess. They had last week before them the great affair of recruiting the army and filling up the broken regiments in Spain. Mr. St. John presented to them the state of that affair, and let 'em know that 19,000 men were necessary, but that at present 14,000 might suffice. The country gentlemen immediately called upon him for his expedient to raise the number proposed, which it was not thought proper to communicate at that time. This a little displeased several, who were dissatisfied likewise that this matter had not been laid before them much sooner. The next day, therefore, instead of agreeing to raise the men by counties and parishes, which was the means proposed, they cramped the former recruiting bill by a new clause, which your Lordship will see in the votes. Mr. Boyle is highly commended for a speech he made in favour of Mr. St. John's proposition.

“Sir J. Hanmer was against any levys being made in England, and altogether for hired troops, but was followed by nobody in the opinion. Peter King was the great champion of the country Whigs, who joined with the other party and carried it by eight voices.

“On the following day, there was some amends made for what had passed before, the whole House closing with an expedient proposed by the Attorney-General, which your Lordship will see in your votes of Friday last. It is hoped, likewise, that there will be some additions made to it when the bill passes in the House, and such as cannot but render it effectual. This affair having been looked upon as one of the most dangerous to the common cause, had it not ended well, I have

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been the longer in troubling your Lordship with an account of it. Yesterday the House were upon ways and means, but came to no resolution, having a design to raise twelve hundred thousand pounds on the East India Company, who would be brought to no more than a million yesterday. The bill for abolishing the Privy Council and establishing Justices of Peace, in Scotland, of which I think I have already given your Lordship an account, has at last made its way through the lower House. The court tugged hard, at the last reading, to get a reprieve for the Privy Council to the next April twelvemonths, but were overborne by the same party that carried the vote of the recruits against them, to which there were joined Sir J. Jekyl, the Solicitor-General, and several others.

“I am, with great respect, your Lordship’s obedient humble servant,

“J. ADDISON.

“Jan. 29, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.”

That question of the Scottish Privy Council was a most serious one, full of peril, and with much to be said on either side. The English and Scottish legislatures were united, but a separate executive for Scotland was loudly called for, on one hand, and obstinately resisted, on the other. The Commons House was resolute against it, by a large majority, and equally favourable to a bill enacting that one Privy Council only should have cognisance of the affairs of both kingdoms. The Court and Court-party supported the opposite view; but the bill ultimately passed the Lords, though only by the narrow majority of 50 to 45.

Sir George Byng was among the most active of the members who endeavoured to procure a separate Privy Council in Scotland, to execute the laws within that kingdom, and thus maintain, at least, an appearance of independence. Although Sir George’s exertions were

made in vain, they were not made without recompence. The freedom of the city of Edinburgh was presented to him, in a gold box, at the hands of Sir Patrick Johnston, and Byng was for the moment hailed as the champion of Scotland.

How the question came to issue and was decided in the House of Lords, is narrated by Addison in the following letter—not without pleasant additional gossip, according to the manner of the writer:—

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“COCK PIT: Feb. 6, 1707.

“MY LORD,—Yesterday, the affair of the Scotch Privy Council was before the House of Lords, and the question put, whether it should be dissolved on the 1st of May next or of October. The Dukes of Richmond, Grafton; the Earls of Essex, Dorset, Oxford, Sunderland; Lords Halifax, Somers, Cornwallis, etc., with all the bishops except two (of which Winchester was one), with all the Lord Rochester’s friends, were for the first, who made up 50, those on the other side amounting but to 45; so that it was carried for a dissolution on the 1st May.

“There are great reports of changes and alterations, as there are always towards the latter end of a session, every one giving ’em out as he wishes.

“This day being the Queen’s birthday, there has been a great appearance at Kensington, and will be a greater this evening. Her Majesty did not come to town, and has not ordered any ball or comedy, which they say will be reserved for H.R.H.’s birthday.

“I am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most obedient servant,

“J. ADDISON.”

The same subject, with more popular matters, and an admirable sketch of Lord Peterborough and his gay

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audiences in the House of Lords, is contained in the subjoined letter—of news :—

MR. EDWIN TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“EXCHEQUER: Feb. 6, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$.”

“MY LORD,—”Tis not long since I have been among the people of this place, but here I am. I do n’t doubt but you have what passes from folks that are more in the secret than I pretend ; so that your Lordship is to receive this upon another foot. I suppose the public transactions of our Senate will surprise you to read their representations of our forces in Spain, so different from that allowed by the Government for that establishment. ’Tis certain there are great allowances to be made ; but the thing by one party was designed for an imputation on the ministry, and another party not thinking themselves under any obligation to exert themselves in a defence, the vote went by such a majority that they would not stand a division. Yesterday matters went as much against the humour of the Court in your Lordship’s house, for abolishing the Scotch Privy Council, where, after a long debate, upon a division, voices were even, but by proxies it was carried against the Council ; ’tis remarkable, though the Court made these efforts for their continuance, Lord Sunderland stuck to Lord Somers and Halifax, and the party that opposed it. Some people imagine these oppositions in parliament will oblige the Court more heartily to espouse one or t’ other party, and hope affairs will take a turn for the better. From this, and the mortal antipathy between the two secretaries, many conjecture H(arle)y is to give way ; and, to assure your Lordship you are not out of everyone’s mind, there are some that talk you into his place. I wish this report was on a good foundation, for the sake of having your Lordship among us, though I believe none of your friends repent your going abroad, and even those who

seemed most against it I take now to be of a different mind. The examination of Lord Peterborough's conduct, I suppose you may have heard, has very much employed the House of Lords. It does not seem very regular in all its circumstances, and appears plain that he much discouraged the King of Spain from taking the route of Valentia instead of Madrid, which singly gave the reverse to our affairs; but as to the great clamour of his drawing money without authority, 'tis thought he will justify himself. He bids open defiance, and fires very thick at the ministry, and sometimes with a good deal of wit, that people often attend it as they do a play—for entertainment. I remember particularly, in his arguments for carrying on the war, he proved the necessity of it, because at this time we can't obtain a good peace; that 'tis more honourable for a nation to perish fighting than submitting; and, for another reason which regarded himself, that, let the war last as long as it will, he was confident it would be his part to fight no more. Your Lordship will excuse me that I have drawn myself into these tales that perhaps you have heard from other hands, but when people are to write they must find something to fill up. Our chief diversion is operas, which are under good encouragement: of this you'll have an account from the ladies, so that I shall only add my services, and the assurance that I am your Lordship's most obedient servant,

“S. EDWIN.”

That a traitorous correspondence was maintained with France, from Harley's office, was undoubted, and was proved in the person of one of that minister's clerks—the Gregg alluded to in the following letter. Some few thought Harley himself implicated, but Gregg acquitted him of all participation in the treason—at the last moment, when he himself was in the cart at Tyburn. The affair, however, was taken advantage of by

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Marlborough and Godolphin ; it was one of the causes of Harley's downfall, and Anne was compelled to consent to the dismissal of her minister. With him went St. John, the Secretary of War, who thus gave golden opportunity to Robert Walpole—the great statesman and minister of the future. Harcourt, on that occasion too, lost the Attorney-Generalship. Of other changes as prospective, Addison speaks correctly ; and of all his letters there are very few which deal with matters of general interest more happily than this :—

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“MY LORD,—The House of Lords have deputed, as it is said, by balloting a committee of seven lords, to examine Gregg, who now lies under sentence of death, his execution having been respited for some time. These lords are, I think, the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Wharton and Sunderland, the Lords Somers, Townshend, and, I think, my Lord Halifax. I hear they are to examine likewise other State criminals, who are now in the custody of messengers. The chief is one Valiere, who has been an owler, and being employed under that colour by Mr. Secretary Harley, he abused, it seems, the trust he put in him, which was to get what intelligence he could of the enemy, and is supposed to have carried on a secret correspondence between the French Court and some of their friends in this country. The bill for establishing justices of peace, and dissolving the Privy Council in Scotland, has at last made its way through the House of Lords, after many long and warm debates. I am informed that the Dukes of Montrose and Roxborough, with my Lord Sutherland and another Scotch peer, whom I have forgotten, were for passing the Bill, and that the Duke of Argyle appeared the warmest against it. His Grace, they say, used some words that occasioned the Earl of Rochester to pass a gentle censure upon 'em, as though they were too rough for that place,

upon which, they say, his Grace told him he was surprised to be censured by a peer who was the most passionate in his discourse of any in the whole House. His Lordship, they say, owned that he could not forbear delivering his opinion, when he thought the good of the nation was concerned in it, with some warmth, but at the same time appealed to that House if ever he had made any reflection on any one member of it, in his passion. It has not been known, perhaps, that the House of Lords were ever so divided as they were on the Scotch affair. My Lord Treasurer spoke against it, and my Lord Sunderland for it. The Lord Chancellor spoke long and warmly in my Lord Treasurer's opinion, and my Lord Somers as much in the contrary. Lords Halifax and Wharton went with my Lord Somers, Lords Townshend and Kingston with the other. The Bishop of Salisbury spoke very much against the tyranny of a Privy Council in Scotland, and was followed in his vote, as I am informed, by all the bishops, except Winchester and Oxford. The Earl of Rochester was for the Bill, and the Duke of Buckingham against it. In short, it looks as if everyone in this great national concern was resolved to vote as he thought best for his country, without any regard to party. There have lately been many secret ferments about a new Secretary of State. It is impossible to tell your Lordship the unexpected difficulties which your ministry have met with in the dismissal of Mr. Harley; but I can tell your Lordship, what is a secret here at present, that the queen has just now demanded the seals of him, and will give them to Mr. Boyle, who, it is said, will be succeeded in the Treasury by the Speaker.

“I am your Lordship's obedient servant,

“J. ADDISON.”

One of the treasonable offenders named in the above letter, Valiere, is described as an “owler.” Valiere,

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with an accomplice named Bara, was accused of informing the enemy of the whereabouts of our men of war, the strength of convoys, and the time at which our richly-laden merchantmen were likely to leave port.

In doing this, Valiere sometimes performed the office of owler. This calling was mostly exercised about the Sussex marshes adjacent to the sea. The owler was formerly merely a confederate with the smugglers, to whom, by imitating the cry of the owl, he was enabled to give intimation of the presence of a legal force, and, indeed, by preconcerted signals, to give intelligence of every sort, that was to the purpose. Occasionally, these men carried lanterns, and they, if questioned, professed to be in search of owls, whom they hoped to allure by their light, and so ensnare them. This light, however, served for other ends, and could be so carried as to serve by way of telegraph to vessels out at sea, whose captains and other confidential gentlemen could find much significance in the owler's variations in the carrying of his lantern, as well as in the simulated notes of his inharmonious voice.

What with owlers in the marshes, cousins in the bedchamber, and intriguers everywhere, England had a perilous time of it. Some of its phases are here told in Addison's best manner :—

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“MY LORD,—On Wednesday last Mr. Harley laid down his seals, being accompanied with the Comptroller, who at the same time quitted his staff. The day after Mr. Harcourt and Mr. St. John resigned their places. Mr. Boyle is Secretary of State, and it is believed will be succeeded in the Treasury by Mr. Smith; Mr. Tilson and Horace Walpole are under-Secretarys. Mr. Dunch and Mr. Boscawen are talked of for Comptroller, Mr. Walpole for Secretary of War, and Sir James

Montagu for Attorney-General, who they say will be succeeded by Mr. Eyres of Salisbury, as Solicitor-General.

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“It is said Mr. Harley and his friends had laid schemes to undermine most of our great officers of State, and plant their own party in the room of ’em. If we may believe common fame, he himself was to have been a peer and Lord Treasurer, though others say that Lord Rochester was designed for that post. Mr. Harcourt was to have been Lord Chancellor, Mr. St. John Secretary of State, the Duke of Buckingham Lord Privy Seal, etc., and so on. It is, I believe, very certain that the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Treasurer refused to sit any longer in Council with so wily a secretary, and would have laid down themselves if he had not been removed. It is said he had hopes of working his ends by the assistance of a bedchamber woman, whom, it seems, he had found out to be his cousin. I should not write with so much freedom to anyone but your Lordship, who I know will make no wrong use of it, and I think it would be very hard that your Lordship should not be acquainted with what is common talk in your own country. This revolution has already had the good effect to unite all old friends that were falling off from one another, and in all probability will produce a good new parliament.

“February 13, 1707.”

And now of the philosophical placeman, one who may have place if he pleases, and cares not to be too much pleased to have it, perhaps the following letter gives as pretty a picture as could well be limned. That the writer was not really anxious to rise in dignity and value of office is manifest, not only in his unaffected tone, but in the familiar household incidents into which he drops, as if by preference, in making such details.

The lady Monthermer to whom some portion of these

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details are devoted, was Mary, youngest daughter of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Lord Monthermer became the second Duke of Montagu. "My son-in-law Montagu," said the Duchess Sarah, "is fifty, and he is as much a boy as if he were fifteen." He has the reputation of having invented the Bottle Conjuror; his father, the old duke of this letter, only invented, according to popular saying, the revolution, in the house of Mrs. Thomas (Corinna) in Dyot Street, Bloomsbury Square.

SIR J. MONTAGU TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"February 17, 1708.

"MY LORD,—By all I can learn of Mr. Hobey's circumstances, he did certainly die very much in debt, which makes me believe he never had occasion to make another will, though I must confess, some circumstances are very odd which are told about him, as is that your Lordship mentions in your last to be told you by Mr. Lisle. When that gentleman comes for England I shall be glad to see him; in the meantime I will enquire after Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Champernon.

"I have given directions to put your bond in suit against Sir Thomas Hobey, in case he does not speedily pay 2,500*l.*, for recovery of that can certainly in no ways destroy any pretensions you may have to anything left by Mr. Hobey. We here are in very whimsical circumstances. Mr. Secretary Harley, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Attorney Harcourt are turned out, for setting up a faction against my Lord Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Treasurer, and their friends. What was aimed at in particular, I am not well able to tell, and it will not be fit to write what we talk here; who will succeed the Comptroller, St. John, and Harcourt is not yet known, and I suppose will not be till the rising of the parliament, which we hope will not be long now, having this day agreed to the raising

1,240,000*l.* more upon annuities, which people are so greedy of, that the day the last annuity act passed, several had like to have been killed in crowding to put in their subscriptions. I am wished joy by everybody as the successor to the Attorneyship, but how the queen will dispose of me I can't say; because while Mr. Harley was in he took care to represent us Whigs after such a manner as I believe must raise no very good opinion in the queen of us, and I am pretty well assured that I had not remained Solicitor long if this late turn had not happened. For my own part, let 'em do as they please, I shall be contented. Your Lordship knows I was not over fond of coming into the service, and were I settled to my former practice again I should be as well pleased as your Lordship seems to be with the thoughts of being at Kimbolton. We have had a mighty struggle about the Bill for rendering the union of the two kingdoms more entire and complete, both in the House of Lords and Commons, the Court in both places opposing the Bill, and our friends being for it. Our election for Huntingdonshire went as I suppose your Lordship would have it, and what has been done upon it I fancy will not be disapproved of by you. Lady Monthermer has got a girl, and a sore breast, and the old duke goes on just as you left him. Lord Halifax is mightily busy about enquiring into the affairs of the admiralty, and I myself have not so many opportunities as I could wish of writing to your Lordship, but I hope your Lordship does not think otherwise of me than that I am, as in duty bound,

“Your Lordship's faithful servant,

“J. MONTAGU.”

The Bishop of Carlisle, who is referred to in the following epistle from Addison, was William Nicholson, who is remarkable for having been transferred, but not preferred, in the reign of George I., from Carlisle to the

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see of Londonderry. That the queen should have been present at the debate which took place on this occasion, does not seem to surprise the writer so much as it may, perhaps, modern readers, who are ordinarily disposed to believe that no monarch has sat in parliament while a debate was in progress, since the period of the Stuart kings.

The subject of privateering, as touched upon by the great essayist, was then presenting difficulties which have not even yet been entirely overcome; but these may be passed over, and the letter left for the amusement and edification of the reader.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“MY LORD,—Yesterday was a great trial in the House of Lords between the Bishop and Dean of Carlisle. The latter, as I hear, having attempted to revive several old statutes in favour of the Dean and Chapter, which would have affected not only his diocesan, but all the bishops in England. The Archbishop of York was the dean’s chief advocate, and was joined by all the lords, spiritual and temporal, of that party. My Lord Somers, I hear, exerted himself more than he had ever done before on this occasion, the affair concluding on the bishop’s side. A report had been spread that the Church and Prerogative were struck at in this cause, which perhaps might occasion her Majesty being present at the whole debate, which lasted till after six in the evening. The Dean of Carlisle being an intimate friend of Mr. Harley, it is supposed this last gentleman had done all he could to prepossess those he conversed with in his favour; but I hear that the queen expressed herself entirely satisfied with the merits of the bishop’s cause.

“The House of Lords have drawn up a representation of several miscarriages in the naval administration, which, I hear, is done in very strong colours, and will

be printed. The House of Commons are upon a project of deciding all elections by balloting, which some think may be as prejudicial to the Court as a place-bill; besides that, it is apprehended the election of a Speaker may hereafter be brought to the same decision, unless some method be found for preventing it.

“One of the greatest affairs before the House of Commons at present is the Bill for encouraging privateers in the West Indies, which was sent ’em down from the Lords some time since. My Lord Halifax is looked upon as the chief promoter of it. His Lordship and his friends formed it with the advice and assistance of the admirals and chief citizens of London. It is proposed that whatever prizes are taken shall go entirely to the adventurers, that they shall be judged as prize or not in the courts of admiralty within such a number of days, and that the prosecution of any man’s right to his prize shall not stand him in above such a sum. It is farther proposed that the ships of such adventurers shall be exempt from embargoes, that their equipage may be two-thirds in foreigners, and that whatever places or settlements they shall make themselves masters of, shall remain in their hands after a treaty of peace. I am, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship’s most obedient and most humble servant,

“J. ADDISON.

“Feb. 20, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.”

The next letter, one of diplomatic business, will well bear reading, before we come to the music and singing, dramatising and constructing of Sir John Vanbrugh.

LORD SUNDERLAND TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: Feb. 17, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.

“MY LORD,—I have the honour of your Lordship’s letters of the 3rd and 16th Feb., N. S. I think it’s plain

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there's no hopes left of persuading the Venetians to enter into right measures with the allies, so there's nothing more to be done but to try their inclinations in relation to the treaty of commerce, and that more to satisfy the merchants who expect it, than from any reason one has to expect it will be obtained. Since they are in this disposition, your Lordship will let them understand that, since they will not make use of this opportunity to do themselves good, as well as the allies, they must expect no assistance from us upon a general peace, but must expect to be left to shift for themselves. As to what you mention about the Duke of Mantua, your Lordship is certainly in the right to put him off, for we can't do ourselves no good by meddling with him; on the contrary, should give great offence to the Duke of Savoy, on whose account we are now soliciting at Venice, that the Ban should be published against the other. I wish with all my heart the Court of Venice would come to reason in relation to the sending Prince Eugene to Spain; but that matter seems to be over, and Haremburgh will be the man.

"I am, with great respect, your Lordship's most humble obedient servant,

"SUNDERLAND."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CHARMS AND THE COST OF MUSIC.

THAT operatic details would not be unwelcome intelligence to the earl, we may be convinced from his own love of music, and his patronage of the opera at Venice. This patronage was celebrated by the Italian poets, one of whom thus “incenses” the ambassador on the occasion of his visit to the theatre to listen to one of the most popular operas of the day:—

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A Sua Eccellenza
il Signor
Co. CARLO DI MANKESTER,
Ambasciatore Straordinario di Sua Maestà
La
REGINA
Della Grande Bretagna
Alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia,
Con l'occasione che S. E. si è portato in Vicenza
Ad ascoltar l'Opera in musica intitolata
IGENE, REGINA DI SPARTA.

SONETTO.

Anglico MARTE, ed ORATOR facondo,
Che col labbro rapir sai, l'alme e i cori,
Tu nato sei per generar stupori
Col tuo valor, col tuo saper profondo.
Tu a sostener d'alte Ambasciate il pondo
Sei nuovo Alcide, cinti al crin gli allori;
Tu a li Berici Monti il verde indori
Con tua presenza, illustre EROE del Mondo.
Tu ad ardue Imprese, e a immortal Fama detto
Fosti dal Cielo; e ogni virtù più fina
Prende forza maggior standoti in petto.
E tanti pregi il Fato a te destina,
Che udendo IGENE, col tuo solo aspetto
Stima accresci, e splendore a una REGINA.
*In segno d'umilissimo ossequio e di profonda
riverenza,* AURELIO AURELJ.

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Turn we now to a more matter-of-fact individual and a more amusing, in the person of Vanbrugh. Readers of Burney know that Van was one of the first to introduce into London that Italian opera which Swift and Addison met with such exquisite ribaldry, but which, nevertheless, held its ground against hostile squibs and jests, and in spite of logic and ridicule has extended and strengthened itself down to our own day—rivalling, and for the idler classes superseding, our own more poetical drama. Van built the Opera House in the Haymarket—then truly a market, on the west skirt of London. Gasparini had been a year or two in England, singing at concerts—especially those at York House—the Italian music, as Colley Cibber says, “stealing into England” slowly and rudely. Signora L’Epine had been singing at Drury Lane, not without rows in the pit, where a party in favour of Mrs. Tofts, the English singer, had assembled to hiss down the foreign woman and support native talent and the native tongue. Van opened the Queen’s Theatre in the Haymarket—not with an opera, but with his own brilliant comedy of ‘The Confederacy.’ As the house was built for singing, not for speaking, the audience could not catch the jest and sparkle of the dialogue. The play was very strongly cast, having Mrs. Bracegirdle, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Porter in the female parts, with Leigh, Doggett, and Booth in the male parts; yet it only appeared in the bills for six successive nights, and was then withdrawn in favour of the legs of Monsieur des Barquets and the music of Buononcini. Two years after Vanbrugh opened the Queen’s Theatre—though the performances were often droll in the last degree, being partly in Italian, partly in English, on account of the absence of singers who could sing Italian—the public taste had fastened on the novel and delicious form of dramatic entertainment. Critics melted to the foreign syren. Addison himself condescended to write a musical piece on the

story of Fair Rosamond ; and when he had written his text, announced his wonderful taste in music by abusing the strange musician who had lately come to London—one “Mynheer Handel,” as he called him in contempt—and setting Clayton to write the score ! ‘Rosamond,’ as an opera, had but a poor success—and critics laughed at the anachronism of a reference to French artillery in the reign of Henry II !

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Crushed by the thunder of the Gaul

was perhaps a lost line from ‘The Campaign.’ Vanbrugh saw that for Italian song to have a chance in London there must be Italian singers, and while repairing Kimbolton he endeavoured to induce the earl, himself a lover and patron of Italian music and Italian art, to assist him in procuring fresh strength for his theatre from Venice. Valentini, a contralto was the principal male voice.

The following note from Vanbrugh to the Earl of Manchester refers to the rows in the theatres, between the defenders of native and foreign talent, and the necessity of getting over some renowned Italian singers, if possible the superb Cavaliere Nicolino Grimaldi, commonly known as Nicolini :—

VANBRUGH TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

“LONDON : February 24, 1707.

“MY LORD,—I intended to trouble your Lordship with a long letter about our opera affairs, but have not time to-night, and yet I am engaged by promises not to let slip this post. I therefore only acquaint your Lordship that at last I got the Duke of Marlborough to put an end to this playhouse faction by engaging the queen to exert her authority, by the means of which the actors are all put under the Patent at Covent Garden house, and the operas are established at the Haymarket, to the general liking of the whole town, and both go on in a very successful manner, and without disturbing one

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another. This settlement pleases so well, that people are now safer to see operas carried to a greater perfection, and in order to it the Town crys out for a man and woman of the first rate to be got against next winter from Italy; but at the same time they declare for the future against subscriptions, and have not come into any this winter. I have, therefore, with several to back me, laid before my Lord Marlborough the necessity there is for the queen to be at some expense and have such an answer, both from him and my Lord Treasurer, as makes me write this letter to your Lordship, to acquaint you that if Nicolini and Santini will come over (my Lord Halifax telling me this morning your Lordship very much desired they should), I will venture as far as 1,000*l.* between them, to be either divided equally, or more to one and less to another, as your Lordship shall think fit to adjust with them, if you please to give yourself the trouble of making the agreement. This money I propose to give them for singing during the next season, which, as things are now regulated, begins the 10th of September, and ends the 10th of June. The opera is very rarely performed above twice a week, and in the beginning and latter part of the season not above once, so that their labour will not be great. If your Lordship could engage for pistoles or Louis-d'ors instead of pounds, it would be so much saved to two of your humble servants, Mr. Bertis and myself, we being now the sole adventurers and undertakers of the opera; for I have bought Mr. Swiney quite out, only paying him as manager. My affairs are all, thank God! in a much more prosperous state than when your Lordship left London. I heartily long to see your Lordship once again. My Lady comes to town to-morrow on her way to Kimbolton, where I design to wait upon her soon. Coleman is now with me in town, and by Midsummer I hope all will be covered in. I must leave a great deal more I would write, both of building, and music and

other matters, till another post, for this will be gone in half-an-hour. I am your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

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“J. VANBRUGH.

“Valentini is mighty earnest with me to get Nicolini over, though he knows he so much exceeds him; but he would fain see operas flourish here, and is mightily pleased with the civil treatment he meets with.”

We shall meet with gossiping Vanbrugh again; meanwhile here is a mingled skein from the ever-welcome hand of Addison. The writer's orthography when dealing with names is not always distinguished by correctness; and therefore is the identity of the Lady “Hichinborough” of the following missive somewhat doubtful. It cannot refer to a Lady *Hinchinbroke*, as the viscount of that name was a youth about to set out on his travels with a tutor; and we shall subsequently meet with both, in a letter from Lord Manchester to the Duke of Montagu.

The Duchess of Roxburgh who is here described as having recovered from the foul disease which was then wont to take terrible revenge on beauty, had not been a duchess above ten months; the Earl of Roxburgh having been advanced to the ducal title only in the spring of the preceding year. She was the daughter of Daniel Finch, Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham; and she died in 1718, leaving an only son, her sole issue.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“February 24, 1707.

“MY LORD,—The Lady Hichinborough is dangerously ill of the small-pox, the Duchess of Roxborough is entirely recovered of the same distemper without any loss of beauty. The gay part of the town is in high expectation of a new opera, that is to make its

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appearance on Thursday next. It is originally Italian, arranged by three different masters, Buononcini having done one act of it. It was first of all designed for a private entertainment at Cardinal Ottoboni's, and is translated into English after the manner of Camilla. The new eunuch has been hissed so severely that he does not intend to act any more.

"We just now hear that the great debate of this day is ended very much to the satisfaction of the court, tho' many of their friends were very apprehensive of it. Mr. Harley and Harcourt both voted against the Whigs, as did Mr. Mansell, and of the country Whigs, only Peter King, and two more. Mr. St. John voted on neither side. The matter is stated thus in the Minutes just now come to hand:—'The House took into consideration the matter touching the war in Spain; and the question being put that the deficiency of the troops in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of Almanza, has been chiefly occasioned by the want of timely and effectual recruits being sent thither, it passed in the negative. Yeas 175; Noes 230.

"'Resolved that the thanks of the House be given to H.M. for taking measures to restore the affairs of Spain, and for providing foreign troops for that service.' Thus went the most important day of this session.

"I am, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant,
"J. ADDISON.

"My Lord Sunderland orders me to acquaint Mr. Cole that his Lordship has received his letter of the 5th inst., N. S."

Another letter from Addison to Lord Manchester follows, in which a little political intrigue of the time is sketched with a clever mingling of detail and discretion. The letter, however, needs no introduction. It speaks for itself. It is only necessary to say that Harley's adversaries were certainly working hard for his over-

throw, and that among them was a man whose niche in the Temple of Memory or of Fame is entirely due to Pope; namely, Coningsby, of whom so little is known in these days, but who elicited from Harley one of the very best of his very many clever sayings.

There is matter of very curious detail connected with Coningsby, his family, and his peerage. This Herefordshire gentleman kept a fool, and was not meanly descended.

At the siege of Rouen, in 1591, there was an English gentleman who fought so valiantly that the Earl of Leicester knighted him on the place, and Sir Thomas Coningsby, bore a name that henceforth belonged to the annals of chivalry. The Coningsby family settled in Ireland, where the great grandson of the Rouen knight, hearing of the abdication of James II., at once took side with his successor, William III. The old martial spirit of the Coningsbys suffered no disparagement in him; he so distinguished himself on the hard-fought days of the Boyne and of Aghrim, that William, in reward for his services, created him an Irish Baron. Queen Anne subsequently created him an English peer of the same rank and style, Baron Coningsby, but now "of Lincoln."

This latter peerage was given with some singular limitations. Lord Coningsby had a wife and children (male and female) living, but the sons were excluded from succession to the English barony, which was to descend only to heirs he might have by any second marriage. His eldest son succeeded to the Irish title. The first lord did remarry, and when King George, in 1719, raised him to the rank of an earl, the above limitation was repeated, with the addition that in case of there being no male heir by a future marriage, the title of countess should devolve on his daughter Margaret, one of the issue of the second union, a lady who had been already created a viscountess. So strangely

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limited a patent, probably, never received the sign-manual. The title expired with the Countess Margaret.

Meanwhile, Lord Coningsby, whose zeal for the Protestant cause gained for him his last coronet, was a holder of various offices of no great public importance, of which perhaps he was not so proud as he was of the locket containing a piece of King William's coat extracted from the gunshot wound he received at the Boyne, and given to the Baron by the monarch's own hand. All this, however, has not so distinguished him as the one line in Pope, in reference to the delinquent Sir Balaam, in which the poet says—

The House impeach him, Coningsby harangues.

Coningsby was but a dull man himself; his State-paper containing a résumé of the English policy of William and Anne, presents as remarkable a specimen of the involved, the obscure, and the incomprehensible, as ever sprung from the most muddled of brains. Like most dull men, however, he hated those of brilliant parts, especially if they were his adversaries. Thus he hated Harley, the "blandly reserved yet stiffly debonnaire" Earl of Oxford, the patron of Pope and Swift, who had been a Whig under William, a Tory under Anne, and who was the subject of persecution under George I. Harley was one day informed that Coningsby had declared that he would have his head. "I am sorry I cannot return the compliment," said the Earl of Oxford, "for I would not have his, if he would give it to me."

This was as severe as the remark made, at a later period indeed, by Lady Townshend to Lord Bathurst. "I have Sir Robert Walpole's head in my pocket," he exclaimed. "Then, my Lord," said Lady Townshend, "the best thing you can do is to put it on your shoulders."

But we hasten back to Harley, Addison, and my Lord.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

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“MY LORD,—This day the committee of Lords make report of their examinations of the State criminals, but I believe I must stay till the next post before I shall be able to give your Lordship any account of it. We look upon the debate of last Tuesday, which I have had the honour to mention to your Lordship already, as that which has fixed all men in their proper parties, and thoroughly established the present ministry. Stanhope and Earl arrived very apropos to give some account of the Spanish affairs, that were then in dispute, and it is said they did it very handsomely. Colonel Mordaunt, at the end of his speech, had these words—
... ‘If a late modest scheme had taken effect, we should neither have had troops abroad nor generals at home.’ As this scheme is the great subject of discourse here, I must acquaint your Lordship with so much as I have heard of it and can give some credit to as having it from good hands. It seems my Lord Rochester and Mr. Bromly were taken no care of in the intended promotions, and, ’t is supposed, were not in the secret. The Treasury, they say, was to have been in commission, and Mr. Harley at the head of it, in order to have it broken in a short time, and himself to have been Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain; Mr. St. John and the Earl Paulett were, as it is said, to have been Secretaries of State, and Harcourt Lord Chancellor. Sir J. Hanmer, too, was to have come in, but I forget his post. They did not question, it seems, but my Lord Marlborough would have acted with them, and therefore thought their scheme good, till his Grace refused to sit any longer in Council with the late secretary, and am credibly informed that the same resolution had been taken by the Lord Treasurer, High Steward, Privy Seal, President of the Council, Lord Chancellor, and the other Secretary of State. How this so much-talked-of scheme

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proved abortive, and came to light before its day, is still a mystery. I am, with the utmost respect, your Lordship's obedient servant,

"J. ADDISON.

"COCK PIT: Feb. 27, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.

"By Mr. Coles mentioning my letters not being dated so often, I fancy he looks for the date at the top of them; for I think I can't be guilty of such a mistake so often."

The accomplished secretary, however, though often guilty of this mistake, is not so in his next letter—a document which gives a fair description of parties and prospects generally. The Lord Rivers mentioned in this letter was Richard Savage, the fourth and last but one of that family who held the earl's title, which had belonged to the father-in-law (Woodville) of Edward IV. The baronial title now borne by Lord (Pitt) Rivers is derived through marriage of an ancestor with the aunt of the lord named below:—

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"March 2, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.

"The session of Parliament drawing near a conclusion, a great many members are gone into the country. The two main affairs before them at present are the American bill, and the bill sent them down from the Lords in relation to the statutes now in force in cathedral churches, in both of which it is thought there will be made several amendments. This last affair seems to be made a party cause. There was a warm debate on it very lately. The managers on one side were Mr. Harley, Sir J. Hanmer, Mr. Bromly, Mr. Harcourt, and St. John; on the other were Peter King, Sir J. Jekyl, Sir J. Montagu, Sir J. Parker, and Spencer Cowper. The last carried their point by 28 votes; but the season of the year drawing the lawyers off to their

circuits, it is feared the superiority may not be kept up in the next debate. The dispute tends to the advancing of the power of the bishops, which the Whig party espouse. The Lords of the Committee have not yet reported their examination of the State criminals, finding still new matter of enquiries; but it is said that affair will come on to-day. The French will certainly be surprised to find us so well prepared for their invasion. Our grand fleet will be going away with the first fair wind, and above 300 merchantships in her convoy. At the same time, we hope to hear every day of the arrival of the East India ships from Ireland, which will bring us about ten men more. Notwithstanding all this force in these seas, and our fleet in the Mediterranean, Sir G. Byng has a powerful squadron before Dunquerque, which is daily reinforcing, and is already strong enough to oppose all the preparations of the enemy in that port. We no longer doubt of a design upon Scotland and the Prince of Wales being at the head of it, and are very happy in a ministry that can take such vigorous and speedy method for our defence and security. They say our new admirals, who are all active men, have very much contributed to the manning and equipping so many of the queen's ships with such an unusual expedition.

“My Lord Rivers is to command our forces in Catalonia, and be ambassador, at the same time, to King Charles. Mr. Worseley is going away envoy to the same place: this perhaps you will not hear from any other hand yet.

“My eyes being out of order, I am forced to make use of another hand, and am, my Lord,

“Your Lordship's obedient servant,

“J. ADDISON.”

Byng was driven from blockading Dunkirk by stress of weather, and Forbin sailed thence with the

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“Chevalier de St. George,” as the Pretender styled himself, and twelve battalions. The French fleet was itself delayed by contrary winds, but on March 8 set sail again for Edinburgh; on which route we may leave them, that we may pursue Lord Manchester’s sketch of the condition of the Republic of Venice at this time:—

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE LORD TREASURER.

“VENICE: March 2, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I forbear paying my respects to your Lordship so often as I should have done, by reason I am sensible whatever passes here, Lord Sunderland has always acquainted your Lordship. I have now received several propositions in relation to a treaty of commerce, and do intend very soon to excuse those orders. I have no opinion that anything can be done, but, nevertheless, nothing shall be wanting on my part. And it is our good fortune that this State cannot contribute much either to our good or prejudice; for I have had so little to do that I have made it my business to know the true state of their affairs. Their government is merely an outward show, and their neutrality has been suffered, I imagine, knowing they are not in a condition of being serviceable in any manner; and should they have embraced the proposals of the queen, it might have given some sort of reputation, but we should have found them an ally not to be depended on, in a condition of doing what we might reasonably have expected, which is too much our misfortune already. I find the resolution at Vienna is fixed on, not to let Prince Eugene go to Spain. The chief affairs there are now managed by Cardinal Lambert, Count Wratislau, and Prince Eugene—which neither of the former thinks is their interest he should be long from that court, and since his going to Vienna he is less inclined for such an expedition. We are told he is going to the Hague to

meet the Duke of Marlborough. I fear there is not much to be expected, either on the Rhine or in Savoy, so that all our hopes must be still on his Grace, who is now reported in these parts, and may possibly go to Spain. I suppose he will be, too, much wanted in Flanders; but it is plain the universal opinion is that unless he does it, we shall not get to a conclusion of this war. I wish we had Spain, whatever had become of Italy. I have those obligations to your Lordship that I cannot omit the least opportunity without expressing the sense I have of them. I am certain a few months will finish all that can be done here, so that I hope I may receive her Majesty's orders to return, and that your Lordship will be of that opinion. If it should be thought convenient to leave a resident, I beg leave to recommend Mr. Cole, my secretary, who is well known to Lord Sunderland, and is very proper for this place. I cannot but hope I may be more serviceable to her Majesty at home; at least, as far as is in my power, I shall not fail to do, and must desire your Lordship will have that entire confidence in me as to let me know on all occasions truly your thoughts, which I shall ever acquiesce in; being convinced that our security at home, as well as the advantages we have had abroad, have been perfectly owing to your Lordship's prudence and conduct. I understand the Privy Seal for my place is passed, for which I return your Lordship my most humble thanks. I am unwilling to say what is due to me in the Treasury, but that in a little time I shall be under a difficulty of paying the bills. I am obliged continually to draw what, before I left England, I took care to supply in some measure, as I have now been here a year; so I must beg your Lordship to take it into your consideration. I am, etc.,

“M.”

CHAPTER XIX.

SANDWICH.

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AS the first letter of our next series contains an interesting account of a young heir to the "House of Hinchinbroke," who never came to his inheritance, the opening of this new chapter may be not unfittingly devoted to a brief review of that branch of the Montagus, for the genealogical portion of which the manuscript-book left by George Montagu has been relied on.

Among the sons of Sir Edward Montagu, by Eliza Harrington, mention has been made of one named Sidney. When knight of the shire for the county of Huntingdon, he was tendered the oath to live or die with the Earl of Essex; but this he refused, declaring at the same time that he had the king's proclamation in his pocket, denouncing them as traitors who should take such oath;—whereupon he was expelled the House. Sir Sidney Montagu married Paulina Pepys, daughter of John Pepys, Esq., of Cambridgeshire, and of the family of which the famous diarist was a member. Sir Sidney Montagu, in 1627, purchased the old house of the Cromwells, at Hinchinbroke, which was built in the reign of Elizabeth, on the site of a Benedictine nunnery, which was granted, at the dissolution of monastic establishments, to that family. The estates remain vested to this day in a descendant of Sir Sidney, but the old house was destroyed by fire in January 1830; the fixtures and furniture were, however, saved. The new mansion, erected soon after the fire, was the work of Edward Blore.

By Paulina Pepys, Sir Sidney had two sons ; Henry, who was drowned at sea, and Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich. The latter, early in life, joined the parliament side in the great struggle for liberty, was beloved by Cromwell, respected by Fairfax, and esteemed by Blake, in whose naval command he shared ; or, he rather succeeded to it, when the great admiral was too ill to exercise it himself. Although a commonwealth's man, he was so far an admirer of monarchy as to desire that Cromwell would assume it in his own person, and no partisan of the royal Stuart ever had cause to blame a lack in him of either courtesy or compassion. Further, when the Commonwealth had become an impossibility, Edward Montagu was instrumental in bringing over the fleet in which he held a command to the service of the king ; for which welcome duty he was created Earl of Sandwich, Knight of the Garter, and Vice-Admiral of England. Lord Braybroke suggests that this title was a compliment to the town of Sandwich, off which the fleet was lying, before it sailed to bring Charles from Scheveling.

Pepys describes the first Earl of Sandwich as a sceptic in religion, and a stoic in philosophy ; a man whom the king loved, and "hugged" when he parted with him. Montagu was then about to sail for a Dutch port, to bring over the Princess Mary, and, says Pepys, "I am to get my Lord a toilet-cap and comb-case of silk, to make use of in Holland, for he goes to the Hague." Lord Sandwich brought his precious freight safely, barring that "The Tredagh did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock, which put them in great fear." So attached was the king to the earl, that the latter believed he might have anything of him for the asking. Pepys was as proud of my Lord as the latter was confident of the favour of the king, and the diarist records with some pride, how "My Lord rose as soon as I was there, and, in his night-gown and shirt, stood talking

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with me above two hours, I believe, concerning the greatest matters of state and interest."

Such interviews frequently took place. It was on such occasions that Lord Sandwich informed his kinsman that the kindness of Charles I. to his father had touched him, the son, when he was in the service of the Commonwealth, and that similar feelings of gratitude had induced him the more readily to adopt the cause of Charles II. When Richard Cromwell was nominally Protector, and Sandwich, then Sir Edward Montagu, was about to proceed, with a naval command, to the Sound, the last words uttered by the sailor to the successor of Cromwell were to the effect that "he should rejoice more to see him in his grave, at his return home, than that he should give way to such things as were then in hatching" (and afterwards did ruin him). The Protector answered, as we have already recorded, that whatever George Montagu, my Lord Broghill, Jones, and the secretary would have him do, he would do it, be it what it would.

Clarendon had no firmer friend than Sandwich, the king rather affecting to be than actually being so; but the earl trusted no man too implicitly, entertaining the sentiment subsequently proclaimed by Rousseau, that it were well to live with every friend, remembering that he might one day be an enemy. Charles, nevertheless, loved him, after his easy fashion; and the queen, if she frowned on his superfluous measure of kindness to his neighbour, Lady Castlemaine, loved him too, for the sake of his musical attainments, which appear to have been considerable. Pepys calls him a "sceptic," as noticed above; but the scepticism seems to have manifested itself in a disbelief of ghosts—even of the ghost of the drummer in Mr. Mompesson's house in Wiltshire, which was the best authenticated story of the day.

In money-matters the great earl was negligent; incurring debt carelessly, and still living in magnificence

while paying dearly for the use of borrowed funds. When he went ambassador to Spain, he spent 20,000*l.* of the king's money, and nearly 10,000*l.* of his own ;—and the authorities at home did not repay him, without reluctance. The outlay only covered a single year, and it was said to have exceeded that of any other ambassador within the same space of time. His private income amounted to 8,000*l.* a year, and at one time, his liabilities to about a fourth more than that sum. Then his tastes were costly. As Master of the Wardrobe, he expended much money in rendering his official residence comfortable. The emolument was then worth scarcely 1,000*l.* a year, with the profit derived from purchasing under one standard of measure, and vending under a different one, to the king ;—a process, justifiable according to the usage of the time. In addition, the Master of the Wardrobe received sixpence in the pound from all tradesmen who supplied the office with the wares in which they dealt. A great source of expence to him, again, was the house at Hinchinbroke, which he restored with great magnificence, keeping at the same time a suitable establishment in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where his annual rent amounted to 250*l.*,—"deadly dear," in the estimation of Mr. Samuel Pepys.

Presents in money were alike made and received then by persons of the highest rank. An idea that such a course was derogatory was only just beginning to creep in, but did not yet prevail. Thus, when the earl had, in his capacity of admiral, safely conveyed Catherine of Braganza to her faithless spouse, Charles II., the queen presented him with the sum of 1,400*l.* On January 4, 1661, Pepys writes, "I had been early this morning at Whitehall, at the Jewel Office, to choose a piece of gilt plate for my Lord (Sandwich) in return of his offering to the king (which it seems is usual at this time of year, and an earl gives twenty pieces in gold, in a purse to the king). I chose a gilt tankard, weighing thirty-one

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ounces and a half, and he is allowed thirty, so I paid 12s. for the ounce and half over what he is to have; but strange it was for me to see what a company of small fees I was called upon by a great many to pay them, which, I perceive, is the manner that courtiers do get their estates."

Few things caused such regret to Pepys as the unreasonable expenditure of the earl, except the foibles by which that expenditure was considerably increased. Lord Sandwich paid some homage, it is thought, to *la belle Stewart*; he certainly paid that and more costly service to a handsome Mrs. Becke, at Chelsea. "I am ashamed," says honest Pepys, "to see my Lord so grossly play the fool, to the flinging off of all honour, friends, servants, and every thing and person that is good, with his carrying her abroad, and playing on his lute under her window, and forty other poor sordid things, which I am grieved to hear; but believe it to no purpose for me to meddle with it, but let it go on till God Almighty and his own conscience and thoughts of his lady and family do it."

A gallant admiral now-a-days who should play *Almaviva* beneath a Chelsea balcony would be a spectacle for gods and men. Pepys thought it no seemly spectacle in his own time, and did "meddle," as he calls it, by letter, at the cost of his exalted kinsman's favour, but with benefit to his reputation. In spite of "displeasures" and many "slightings," his interference by letter was not unavailing; and he ultimately says joyfully in his journal: "When I did hear how he is come to himself, and hath wholly left Chelsea and the slut, and that I see he do follow his business, and becomes in better repute than before, I am rejoiced to see it, though it do cost me some disfavour for a time." The conversion, indeed, was not so sudden nor so complete, nor so permanent as Pepys conceived; but it came in due time; and coming at all was, at the period in ques-

tion, a virtue only in the estimation of the smaller portion of society in general.

The Countess of Sandwich, from whom the earl faithlessly turned for awhile to play the lute beneath Mistress Becke's window, was an incomparable lady. She was the daughter of that Mr. Crewe who was created Lord Crewe, of Stene, at the coronation of Charles II., and whose tripe, covered with mustard, was pronounced by Pepys to be "good." The same writer loses no opportunity of eulogising the "extraordinary love and kindness" extended to him by Lord Crewe's daughter;—how she made him drink Florence wine, and gave him two bottles for his wife. Her hospitality towards the diarist was constant. In June 1661, when Lord Sandwich was dining at the Trinity House, as the newly-elected Master of that corporation, "I," says Pepys, "stayed and dined with my Lady; but after we were set, comes in some persons of condition, and so the children and I rose, and dined by ourselves. All the children and I were very merry, and they mightily fond of me." The honour rendered to the earl, and the little account thereof made as respected herself, is indicated in her domestic economy. In July 1661, Pepys records his dining "with my Lady, who, now my Lord is gone, is come to her poor housekeeping again." Those were days when Pepys could take a countess's two daughters to Bartholomew Fair to see the monkeys dance, and give them glass baubles for fairings; and after escorting them home, sit down by the bed-side of the countess herself, and hear how that lady, "with simplicity and harmlessness," was to prevail upon the king to be godfather to her newly-born baby. Then, if the countess was mindful of the earl's table when at home, she was not less careful for the good provisioning thereof on shipboard—often taking counsel with friends to that good end; and mingling talk anent good cheer with discourses on divinity. Only

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in her lord's absence, it may be presumed, had the countess such a guest as is indicated in the following entry :—"Dined with my Lady, when her brother, Mr. John Crewe, dined also ; and a strange gentlewoman dined at the table as a servant of my Lady's, but I know her not. . . I since understand that she is come as housekeeper to my Lady, and is a married woman." Pepys' own non-official duties in this household were multifarious, from taking the children out to walk, to accompanying my lady to Paternoster Row when she would buy a satin petticoat against the queen's coming. Then he shared in the confidential communications of the countess, whether these referred to royal gallantries at court, or to marriage speculations with regard to her own daughters. "So good and discreet a woman," he remarks, "I know not in the world !" and Pepys was not without discretion himself, as he manifested in conducting the love affair between Lady Jemima Montagu, the countess's daughter, and that most bashful and reserved of lovers, Mr. Carteret, to a happy conclusion. While the plague was raging, and when people were fearful of coming into contact with each other, the wonder of Pepys need not have been so great at the backwardness of young Mr. Carteret to salute the reserved Lady Jemima, or even to touch her hand. No such fear, however, inspired Pepys, who "kissed the bride in bed," when there fairly came off that solemn marriage, at which the young lady was "mighty sad," which the diarist hopes "was only her gravity in a little greater degree than usual." He then gives a pretty picture of a wedding in a noble family, during a plague time :—"So to dinner, and very merry we were ; but in such a sober way as never almost anything was in so great families ; but it was much better. After dinner, company divided ; some to dinner, some to talk. My Lady Sandwich and I up to settle accounts and pay her some money. . . At night to supper, and so to talk : and,

which methought was the most extraordinary thing, all of us to prayers, as usual, and the young bride and bridegroom too; and so, after prayers, soberly to bed." In September 1665, Pepys wrote to Lady Carteret a letter, in which, after treating of the awful devastations made by the plague, he alludes to this match, and adds: "Yet, Madam, through God's blessing, and the good humour got in my attendance upon our late amours, your poor servant is in a perfect state of health, as well as resolution of employing it as your Ladyship and family shall find work for it."

Among Lord Sandwich's kinsmen and other men who figured at the Court of Charles II., not the least notable was Edward Montagu, the son and heir of the second Lord Montagu, of Boughton. Ambitious of a seat in parliament, his kinsman, Lord Sandwich, had attempted to secure Hastings for him, but had failed; and for the service rendered in this attempt, and for other good offices, Edward Montagu seems to have been but indifferently grateful. He held the post of Master of the Horse to Charles II.'s consort, Catherine of Braganza. Out of this appointment arose a quarrel between Montagu and Lord Chesterfield, the Queen's Chamberlain. Chesterfield was a dangerous man with whom to quarrel, for he was an accomplished duellist. Edward Montagu, nevertheless, claimed "precedence in taking the Queen's upperhand," as Pepys expresses it, "abroad out of the house." The Chamberlain's claim was allowed; and, a year later, the Master of the Horse was dismissed from his post in the household of the queen, namely in May 1664.

How this event came about is told in the paper of which the following is a copy:—

"Edward Montagu, elder brother to Ralph, Duke of Montagu, was Master of the Horse to Queen Catherine, and was very much in love with her, and had no other

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way of declaring his passion than by squeezing her by the hand, when he led her out into her coach, as his place required him. That queen, ignorant of the English courtships, asked the king one day, 'What do you English mean, when you squeeze a lady by the hand?' He promised to tell her upon condition she would tell him in return who was the cause of that question, which she unknowingly did, and so lost the gentleman his place." Pepys, it will be remembered, affirms that the gallantry of Montagu was previously the subject of conversation at Whitehall, where the lords who were on the most familiar terms with the king recommended him to look after his wife. By whatever way the disgrace was incurred, disaster came of it. The scandal, and, says the document, "the impossibility of gaining the queen, made him hate life, and he bravely lost it in an engagement against the Dutch, by being wounded in the belly, so that his bowels came out. During this agony, he wrote a letter to the queen in his blood, and died. The queen, much afflicted at her being the innocent cause of this sad catastrophe, generously gave his place of Master of the Horse to his brother." This brother, Ralph, inherited also the title of Lord Montagu of Boughton, and was subsequently raised to the dignity of duke. The death of Edward occurred at the smart affair, which cost us so dearly, off Bergen, in Norway, where an attempt was made by the English to destroy the Dutch vessels which had taken refuge in that harbour.

To revert to the succession to the earldom of Sandwich, it is merely necessary to state that, by the marriage of Edward, the second earl, with Anne, daughter of the Earl of Burlington, was born Edward, the third earl, whose son is the Lord Hinchinbroke referred to in the subjoined letter. Subsequently to the study and travel noticed below, Lord Hinchinbroke married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Popham, of Littlecote, a

descendant of the judge's family, and by her mother a grand-daughter of Ralph, Duke of Montagu. Lord Hinchinbroke died before his father, in 1722; the earl in 1729. In the former, Duke Ralph seems to have taken some special interest, as the following letter will show:—

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF MONTAGU.

“VENICE: March 2, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I hope your Grace did receive mine at my first coming to this place, that I may not be thought wanting of that respect I have ever had and have always professed. I must now acquaint your Grace that my Lord Hinchinbroke arrived just at the end of the Carnival, and had an opportunity of seeing what is most remarkable here. I cannot say enough of his good sense and agreeable company, and therefore will make a considerable man, in case he is not so soon brought into the world, and so, consequently, too much his own master does not prevent it. The differences between him and Mr. Lacome are come to a very great height, insomuch that I feared he would not have left this place; but I have pacified matters for the present, and have prevailed with him to go to Rome, according to your directions, where they intend to wait your further orders. I hope by that time things will be on a better foot between them, though I very much fear it; neither do I think anything is to be learnt for one of his age there, there being no academy and so cannot be kept to such exercises as be proper, and I doubt Mr. Lacome will not be able to prevail with him to have that application he ought. I take the liberty to acquaint your Grace with my thoughts, which I have discoursed my Lord Hinchinbroke, and also the gentleman with him, and that after he has seen Rome and Naples to return into Germany and spend some time at the academy at Wolfenbutel, where the duke takes

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particular care of their performing their exercises ; this my Lord doth seem to like at present, for I fear he will spend his time at Rome just as he would at London. He has so much life and spirits, and is so young, that it is not to be expecting great application in matters which do at first require some pains ; it may prove otherwise, so that your Grace may best judge from them, as also from what Lord Hinchinbroke writes. I should be glad to contribute anything to his service. I do not take him to be of the strongest constitution, so cannot tell if Italy, especially in summer, is proper for him. I suppose you intend his stay abroad to be for some time, which seems to me to make Wolfenbutel the more proper. To-morrow my Lord H. sets out for Rome. I begin to think of England, and hope by the end of summer to be at home, here being nothing to be done.

“ M.”

CHAPTER XX.

MARLBOROUGH, VANBRUGH, ADDISON.

TO the trial of Gregg for treasonable practices allusion has been already made. Addison, in the next letter, throws some additional light on the life of a man who was undoubtedly a spy in French pay, and who was assisted not by Harley's treason, but by his carelessness in leaving his letters open in his office, to which Gregg had ready access.

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The reference to the burning of Gregg's wife does not mean *burnt at the stake*, but in the hand, part of the penalty inflicted on persons who tampered with or counterfeited the coin of the realm. Harley had compassion on the widow of the man who, dying, cleared the minister's reputation from all reproach save that caused by his negligence. He allowed the widow Gregg 50*l.* a year for her life, as "satisfaction" for the hanging of her husband.

Then, as to the Jacobite invasion, about which Addison discourses, he is in error when he says it would prove the last attempt of that faction. It was, however, an abortive attempt, though there was great preparation in Scotland to further it. Forbin did not like being harassed by Byng, who captured one of his ships with Lord Griffin and other notabilities on board; and the French expedition returned ingloriously to Dunkirk. When the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Earl of Mar, informed Marlborough and Godolphin of the dispersion of the French fleet, Marlborough was silent, but Godolphin raised his eyes and remarked: "Well,

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man proposes but God disposes !” It was after this attempt at invasion that Queen Anne first denounced her brother by the title of *Pretender*.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ March 5, 1707.

“ MY LORD,—On Tuesday last the Lords had before them the examination of Gregg and Clarke, alias Valiere, the reading of it taking up nearly four hours. They afterwards referred the consideration of it to a committee of the whole house. Gregg, it seems, had formerly dealt in clipping and coining, and in the year 1697 was tried with his wife on that occasion. The latter took the guilt upon her and pleaded her health, and, after her delivery, was burnt ; I don’t hear that Gregg could confess anything material. He laid his guilt upon his great necessity, and said he had been employed by Mr. Harley as a kind of spy in Scotland, to give him information from time to time of the steps that were made in the union. Valiere had been employed by Mr. Harley to bring him intelligence from France under the pretence of an owler. He carried on at the same time a criminal correspondence between several on this side the water, and in the Court of France, but how far this went, and whether by any commission or contrivance from any hence, is now under consideration. Your Lordship will see by yesterday’s votes the alarm that we have received from the Court of France. Mr. Cadogan’s letters mention that the Prince of Wales was in Dunkirk ready to embark with fifteen battalions, and that the Dukes of Berwick and Crillon were to go along with the expedition, that they had been invited over by several Scotch Lords, and promised the assistance of all their friends and dependents. Several letters add, that the French Court had assurances given them that the Castle of Edinburgh should be put into their hands on the first arrival of the forces, and that there are actually several

near relations of the first families of Scotland now in France as hostages to the French king for the performance of articles on the Scotch side. I told your Lordship in my last how well prepared we are for the crushing the intended invasion, and I think there wants nothing to the settling of the union, this expedition being the last effort of the party that opposed the uniting of the two nations. I forgot to tell your Lordship that the Duke of Argyle goes for Scotland to-morrow, and that the governor of Edinburgh Castle is already gone.

“I am ever, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

“Your Lordship’s obedient humble servant,

“J. ADDISON.

“I take the liberty to enclose in your Lordship’s packet a letter for Rome, which I beg your Lordship’s orders to forward.”

The subject of the invasion from France is again the chief staple of a letter which, however, is not void of the usual quantum of gossip thrown in by the writer :—

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“MY LORD,—All our talk at present turns upon the intended invasion, which we fancy will still be carried on, since the joining of the Brest squadron with the fleet that was before Dunquerque. This squadron, they say, consists of six men-of-war and five privateers. Our admirals say that they cannot hinder the enemy from reaching Scotland, who are, as I have heard, about twenty hours before them ; but whether that will suffice for the debarquement of so many troops and pieces of artillery, or whether the French will be willing to sacrifice all their transports and risk their men-of-war, is very much doubted, especially since the news we have received this morning of the pretended Prince of Wales falling sick of the measles. The last news we have from Sir

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J. Leake says that he was sailed with the grand fleet and trade under his convoy; but we are afraid the contrary wind this day will drive him back. We have strong reports, as there always are at the end of a session, that there will be great changes at court. My Lord Cardigan has been talked of for some time to be Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke to be Admiral, Lord Wharton to be Viceroy of Ireland, and Lord Somers President of the Council; but whether there be any ground for all this, a little time will show us.

“I am, with great respect, your Lordship’s obedient servant,

“J. ADDISON.

“March 9, 1707.”

The Lord Cardigan named above was the third earl, of whom the present Earl Cardigan is the great-grandson. The third earl’s famous, or infamous, aunt was at this time still living. She was that Anne Maria, Countess of Shrewsbury, who, in the disguise of a page, held Buckingham’s horse, while he murdered her husband in a duel.

The Earl of Pembroke was the eighth earl of the Herbert line, and was as glad to be Lord High Admiral as his wife was at the success of Cuzzoni at the opera. Lord Wharton is more famous in his son than in himself, that son being Philip, Duke of Wharton, the dissolute, and wayward traitor, who was outlawed for his treason in 1729. As far as the barony was concerned, the attainder was raised in 1845, and the title declared to be in abeyance among the descendants of the daughters of the Duke of Wharton’s grandfather. Finally, the Lord Somers, whose advancement to the presidency of the council is rumoured in the above note, was the great and good lord who ultimately became Lord Chancellor, and to whom Addison dedicated the ‘Spectator’—in a strain of elegant panegyric,

sometimes quaint, scarcely ever exaggerated—celebrating him as a philosopher, statesman, lawyer, churchman, and patriot—not forgetting “your great humanity and complacency of manners, and of the surprising influence which is peculiar to you, in making every one who converses with your Lordship prefer you to himself, without thinking the less meanly of his own talents.” But we must turn from Addison eulogising, to the secretary reporting events to the ambassador abroad.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“MY LORD,—The enclosed prints will acquaint your Lordship with all that is yet come to our knowledge of the designed invasion. Expresses are expected every hour of the further motions of the two fleets. We generally look on this project as a desperate push of the Court of St. Germain; for they have not above 5,000 men on board, and are followed by a fleet of double their force. Our troops that are sailing from Ostend will outnumber them if they land, and the troops which are ordered to march out of England, and to be transported from Ireland, with those that are already in North Britain, will make an army of about 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse, whereas the enemy have not a horse in their embarkment. The Commons yesterday passed a vote to make good whatever expenses her Majesty shall be at, and to pay whatever troops she shall think fit to raise in the present conjuncture, which we hope will have a good influence on all the seats of war, and make the invasion very much turn to our advantage. That part of yesterday’s vote which glances on the late secretary was put in Mr. Wortley’s motion, who likewise spoke incomparably well in the controversy about the Church statutes, for which reason they put him in the chair. I think I have had the honour to see him with your Lordship at Paris.

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"I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient
humble servant,

" J. ADDISON.

"COCK PIT: March 12, 1707."

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"MY LORD,—We have not had any express from our fleet under Sir George Byng these six days, but this morning received a letter from the Mayor of Berwick, with advice that they discovered from that place a fleet of nearly thirty great ships, but at such a distance that they could not distinguish whether they were English or French, though I find all here are of opinion they were the former. At the same time we are puzzled to think where the French should be if these are English. Some fancy they have been dispersed by the bad weather, others that they have got the start of us very much by the stretch they made with the first fair wind, and above half the city believe they are sailed round Scotland to fall in upon the W. Indies, but I see no manner of ground for this conjecture. Our last letters from Scotland are dated about the 11th inst., and say all things were then quiet in that kingdom.

"Just as I am writing this, an express is arrived from Sir G. Byng, dated, as I hear, from Edinburgh Frith, the 5th inst. He says that he had then the French fleet in sight to the northward, and was in full chase after them. He adds that he hopes to give a good account of them, and that he believes he shall hinder them from landing any men or arms,

"Yesterday the Lords were on the examination of Gregg and Valiere, alias Clark, and, I hear, came to some resolution on that subject, all of which glance on the conduct of the last Secretary of State—as, that it had appeared there had been a great negligence in the keeping the books and papers of the greatest consequence secret; that there was probably some reason

which they could not come at, for suspending the execution of Gregg; that it was absolutely necessary that a criminal of that nature should be executed; that the owling trade should not be permitted on any pretence whatsoever; that Valiere had been engaged in very dangerous correspondencies, and was by no means a proper person to be entrusted by the government; with the like—particulars which, I hear, are to be drawn out at length, and represented to her Majesty in an address.

“The House of Commons were sitting to-day on a project of Mr. Stanhope’s for hindering the clans of Scotland from being at the direction of their heads in case of any rising or rebellion, when the news of the forementioned express came among ’em, upon which they immediately called out to adjourn, being so pleased with the news that they could not go on with the debate. I have received a letter from your Lordship, with two bills of extraordinaries, which I will get transmitted to Mr. Powis, according to your Lordship’s commands.

“I am, with great respect, your Lordship’s obedient humble servant,

“J. ADDISON.

“COCK PIT: March 16, 1707.”

Vanbrugh’s letter on the attempt to dethrone Queen Anne, by attacking her in Scotland, is written with great spirit, and there is not less humour than probability in the motives he ascribes to Louis XIV. in lending aid to the objects aimed at by the Pretender.

But his greatest joy in a prospect of peace is, that he will then have leisure to talk about operas, and he anticipates the period and its attendant delight by talking on that musical subject, fully.

The real foundations of the opera in England may be said to be cast in this letter. Vanbrugh was a-weary

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of the pie-bald sort of opera which the town rather possessed than enjoyed, though the town *said* it enjoyed that opera. In it, foreigners sang in their own language, and English vocalists in theirs. In *Camilla*, *Arsinoe*, and *Thomyris*, you had, now '*heart and dart*,' anon '*cuore and muore*;' '*love and prove*,' alternated with '*costanza and speranza*;' very sorry nonsense in English was replied to by as great nonsense in Italian; Leveridge rolled forth billows of *bass*, as Pluto, Jove, Neptune, or some terrestrial tyrant, while a qualified Signor squeaked his answers in cadence; and adorable Mrs. Tofts was gradually growing mad by intensely imagining that she was the very personage she was counterfeiting, while Signoras drove foolish lords and lordlings mad by the intensity of their impertinent beauty, and the (then) exorbitancy of their demands as payment for exhibiting it. Of all this Van is a-weary, as may be seen in the following epistle:—

VANBRUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"LONDON: March 16, 1707.

"MY LORD,—I have received a letter from your Lordship of the 24th February, and shall with pleasure do you all the service I am capable of at Kimbolton. My Lady has fixed upon Saturday to go down for a few days to set Coleman at work, and I have promised to wait upon her. I shall come back on Tuesday, and will, if I can, by that post, give your Lordship an account of what we have done.

"This attempt of the French has been a great surprise upon people, nobody believing they would persist in the enterprise after our fleet had appeared before Dunkirk, much superior to 'em. The news of their slipping out, and getting fourteen or fifteen hours' start of Sir George Byng, came this day. The annuity bill was to be passed. People seemed a good deal disordered; however, nobody withdrew what they had subscribed, but appeared

as eager as before to trust their money with the Government. Mr. Churchill and the Tory part of the admiralty have talked loud against Sir George Byng for letting the enemy slip him; but others, who have a great opinion both of his skill, care, and integrity, have judged better of him, and don't doubt he will be able to make it appear he could do no more than he did. All, however, have seemed on this occasion to allow that a fleet alone is not a sufficient security in time of war, and that had there been 5,000 men in Scotland, as there used to be, such an attempt had been impracticable. But at present there are not 1,500, which are only sufficient to garrison in a very indifferent manner Edinburgh Castle, Stirling, and one or two small things more, so that the whole kingdoms are at liberty to choose which side they will, but the Kirk party have proposed a fast, and renounce the French. However, wherever they land, there's nothing to oppose them, but they will be in quiet possession, till our army marches into Scotland, in order to which (besides the troops now embarking at Ostend) the horse and footguards, with what other small forces we have, are on their way to York, which is the rendezvous. Several regiments from Ireland are ordered out for Scotland, so that unless they meet with more friends than is thought here they will, their attempt can come to no great account, more than the present interruption it gives to other affairs, and the uneasiness it puts people under. But the news that came to the house to-day at Westminster, of Sir G. Byng's being in sight of the enemy off of Edinburgh, I observed gave very sudden change to people's faces. I'm sure the news of the battle of Blenheim was not received with more joy; especially by the N. Britons, who were cruelly down about the business. It is now held for impossible they should be able to land, and very good luck they must have to escape an engagement. So I hope this attempt will shut the door for some time against any other, for

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some proper measures must be taken to prevent them for the future. I heard my Lord Marlborough say this morning that, by the last letters from Paris, he had an account this project was opiniated by the King of France against the opinion of others, which would incline one to think, if it did not succeed one way, he wished it would another, by getting rid of the Pretender, which is likely enough to happen. And since there is hopes of being quiet at home, I may think again of operas. I had written to your Lordship a little before I received your letter, to desire you would engage Nicolini and Santini for next winter, if a thousand pistoles (or pounds if pistoles would not do) between them would be sufficient, which my Lord Dorset tells me will plentifully do; but they must perform the whole season, which is from the 10th Sept. to 10th June, so that they must, if possible, be here in August, unless, to have the advantage of coming with your Lordship, they should stay something longer, which, in that case, to encourage them, one would dispense with. Now, could there be a third, some young agreeable person of a woman who, not yet in great vogue, yet promises fair to grow to it, who would come for an allowance of 80*l.* or 100*l.* a-year, it might be of great service to bring down the pride and charges of our singing ladies, who cost the House 400*l.* a-year a-piece. Stanhope tells us of such a one at Leghorn, that he believes would come; her name is Nijana(?); he commends her highly. Blenheim is much advanced, and to my Lord Duke's entire satisfaction; nor have I any quarrels with my Lady Duchess about it. There will be a great saloon this summer, and I hope one more summer will cover it all. I am obliged to your Lordship for your kind wishes on that subject, and am your most obedient servant,

“J. VANBRUGH.”

We shall find the earl taking care of the negotiations

with Nicolini. Meanwhile he is concerned about meaner men, and finding one of those universal geniuses in music who can play on any instrument, he tries to secure the marvel for the queen's enjoyment, if she be only inclined to give moderate guerdon for it in return. To see the politic ambassador who was despatched to deal with the reverend, grave, and noble signors of the Senate, stooping to send her Majesty a fiddler, is nothing compared with seeing the man who had been missioned to circumvent France now condescend to go shopping for the Duchess of Marlborough, and to talk of velvets and damasks as if he had been brought up to the making or the vending of such wares.

All serious business is forgotten in these details, and perhaps not the least illustrative trait of social and political life at this period is to be found in the submissive tone of grateful assurances and gilded hopes, struck upon by the earl, with the still potent duchess for a subject. "With a difference," this letter reminds one of Hercules and Omphale.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

"VENICE: March 16, 1707.

"MADAM,—I do not know what apology to make your Grace in taking this liberty, but only that I am sensible you are a great encourager of music, and that such an opportunity may not again occur, for tho' there are many great masters in these parts, yet they are so established that without vast advantages they will not leave their country; besides your Grace must pardon me that I have so much in my thoughts music, having been in the midst of it all this winter, where there has been ten operas, and the person I mention to your Grace was employed in the best of them, and gave great satisfaction. This person is a Venetian, but has been out of Italy some time, in the service of the

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Queen of Prussia. . . . He happened to be in Holland when the Venetian Ambassador was there, who brought him to England, where he composed the book I send your Grace in music; but his stay being so short, and being engaged to make the operas here this Carnival, he had not an opportunity of presenting it to the queen. The composition is esteemed good. What I beg leave to propose to your Grace is, that I find he is disposed to return to England if he could be on any certainty, and if the queen would take him into her service and allow him 300*l.* a year; if that should be thought too much, I believe 200*l.* might prevail with him: he would not engage himself anywhere else. This, with the advantages he might receive by putting the operas on a right foot, would make it worth his while. I will be answerable as to music; he will give entire satisfaction. He plays on all instruments, bassoon, guitar, hautboy, and harpsichord in perfection, which I imagine might sometimes be a diversion to the queen. The expense would be small, and whatever music her Majesty might order, he would be always ready, as he speaks French and German, so I am confident he would soon learn English, and then would end his days there. They are at a great expense in England in operas, and I understand that humor still continues, and in short we have nothing well, in comparison with what we might have, if your Grace does think it proper to mention it to her Majesty, or at least that I may know your thoughts as soon as possible, that he might provide for himself, which he will not do till he hears from me. Mr. Boyle did mention that my Lord Treasurer was once thinking of getting from Vienna, Buononcini. I did speak about it, but found difficulty — he could never propose to make any long stay; but this person, if he succeeds, will never think of removing, being under no engagement at present. It is some time since I had the honour to receive a letter from your Grace, and I have not been wanting to make the best enquiry about

velvets and damasks. I find the velvets are better at Genoa, but for damasks here there will be soon a gentleman returning to England, and do intend to send by him to your Grace three patterns in damask of different colours, and what they will cost, and then at any time you may have what quantity you please. I have bespoke some for myself, and have so managed that the person who provides me does but get sixpence in a yard: this method I thought would be the more properest, that you might be at a certainty, as also not be deceived in the price.

“I hope it will not be very long before I have the honour of waiting on your Grace, to express the obligations I have in the marks of her Majesty’s favour, which I am sensible is owing in some measure to your goodness, the continuation of which I shall do my utmost to deserve.”

In the next letter Vanbrugh sticks close to his professional vein. His reference to the priory reminds one that the fourth part of Huntingdonshire once consisted of abbey lands. With regard to Kimbolton, the first earl spared no cost, so that he might add to its beauty, and it is not sure that he would have fully approved all Vanbrugh’s suggestions to the last earl, for what he would probably have thought the marring of that beauty. Hinchinbroke was perhaps the finer house, it was at least famous for one of the most noble rooms in the kingdom. It had been a “religious house,” and Fuller says: “it will ever be a *religious house* while it relateth to the truly noble Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich.” But to return to Vanbrugh and Kimbolton.

VANBRUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“STEVENAGE: March 22, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I wrote to your Lordship last week, and acquainted you that I had promised to wait upon

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my Lady to Kimbolton to settle things for going on with the building; I have accordingly been there, and am got thus far to-night on my way back. My Lady (with Lady Ann and Lady Dodds) stays there a fortnight longer. We have adjusted everything to be done this summer except the bow window, which is a nice point that will require a good deal of consideration with regard to the outside of the house as well as the inside. I have taken all necessary memorandums about it, and will think of the best way I can, though I am yet of opinion it must be a projecting window of some kind or other; but it may be so ordered that it shall have nothing to do with the proportion of the room, which may have its due dimensions without it, and yet be very much beautified by it. The other new rooms beyond are almost up to the ceiling, and will be perfectly as one would wish them, and big enough of all conscience. The first of 'em, which is in the place of the old drawing-room, is rather bigger than the bow-windowed one, and the saloon beyond it is almost as big as the hall, and looks mighty pleasantly up the middle of the garden and canal, which is now brimful of water and looks mighty well. The respective hedges will be in great perfection this year, and the fruit trees are now strong enough to produce in abundance; so that I hope your Lordship will find it altogether much improved, and to your satisfaction. I do assure you the old stone of the Priory has done especial service, and seems to a much better account here than it would have done in the office, which I'll engage may be done without one foot of freestone, and yet be handsomer than any gentleman's house in Huntingdonshire. I think your Lordship need not fear the new upper rooms being too low; they'll be full as high as your own bedchamber is, and that's enough in conscience, for this pretends but to an attic story, and has its full height as such. There will be four very good bedchambers in it, and a very hand-

some and commodious ceiling. There is an ugly thing removed, which is the way under the . . . stairs to the chapel, which was so low one knocked one's head; but I have found it possible to alter the stairs for the better, and at the same time to make that as high as the rest of the gallery. Several other small amendments to the house we have thought on, and I apprehend but one thing from the whole, which is that your Lordship will two or three years hence find yourself under a violent temptation to take down and rebuild (suitable to this new front) all the outside walls round the castle. But I'll say no more of that till I see you at home, and Secretary of State again. I write this letter here, being alone, and likely to want time for it to-morrow night. Your Lordship will have the public news from other hands, so I'll seal my letter and go to bed.

"I am your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"J. VANBRUGH.

"I must do Coleman the justice, that he has managed the old materials to admirable advantage, and executed the directions he has had exceedingly well."

Next comes, once more, Addison with his politics and gossip. The anxiety about Scotland is not yet quite extinct, but the secretary can find time for details of marrying and giving in marriage. The Lady Catherine Seymour, whose name is coupled with that of Sir William Wyndham, was a daughter of the proud Duke of Somerset, of whom mention has been already made. The most spirited trait in his life is that which describes him as refusing to attend the papal nuncio to his audience with James II. in 1687, on the ground that it was contrary to the law of the land. At the time this letter was written, his Grace was Queen Anne's Master of the Horse. His services to the House of Hanover were acknowledged by George I., but the duke threw up all his offices when his son-in-law, Sir William

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Wyndham, was committed to the Tower. Through Lady Wyndham came the now extinct earldom of Egremont, which she derived from her brother, Algernon Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Earl of Egremont. The duke died without issue male, and the earldom, according to the limitation of the patent, descended to his sister's son, Sir Charles Wyndham, the first of the three Wyndhams who held the title till it became extinct, in 1845.

Addison was correct also in his report of the second marriage. Lady Catherine Tufton was the daughter of the sixth Earl of Thanet. Her husband, Edward Watson, son to Lord (Baron) Rockingham, became Viscount Sondes, on his father being created an earl. Dying before his father, the earldom eventually devolved on the two grandsons of the latter, both of whom died without issue. The Watson Wentworths, in two of whom the Marquisate of Rockingham was a brilliant succession, came from a younger branch. The first marquis was a very singular man. The Earl of Strafford had bequeathed to his father the greater portion of his estates, and with them the whole of the valuable papers of Gascoyne the antiquary. There were seven chests full of these treasures, and some of them were as old as the Conquest. But the marquis (the father of the minister) burnt every paper! He was moved by fear that if they were preserved or published, the family of Strafford might discover something in them whereby he might be disturbed in the possession of his estate.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ March 26, 1708.

“ MY LORD,—Mr. Stanhope is to go to the King of Spain as envoy-extraordinary, plenipotentiary, and major-general on our establishment, by which means he will command the British forces in Catalonia, as being chief of her Majesty's general officers in that

country. Mr. Craggs, jun., will go with him as the queen's secretary, with credentials and appointments accordingly.

"Yesterday, in the morning, we heard of 22 sails of ships that were seen off Angus, but having received no express from Scotland since, we are apt to think they were only trading ships sailing off that coast. General Churchill was last night struck with a fit of apoplexy, and is very ill. It is said the Duke of Marlborough will be going to-morrow, or the day after, for Holland. Sir William Wyndham, they say, is about marrying Lady Catherine Seymour, and Mr. Watson, Lord Rockingham's son, the Lady Catherine Tufton.

"I am, with great respect, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"J. ADDISON."

Despite these references to private family arrangements, the secretary's mind is still troubled with respect to Scotland. The Lord Griffin, noticed in the next letter, was one of the prisoners taken in the French man-of-war captured by Byng in the Firth of Forth. Among the others were Lord Clermont, and his brother Mr. Middleton, the Marquis de Levi (scion of that ancient house whose papers were jokingly said to be dated before the Deluge), and many other foreign and native emissaries.

The Duke of Hamilton of this letter was *the* duke of the famous duel with Lord Mohun. He was a courtier of the old "Rowley" period, and was as much esteemed by the second James as by the second Charles. He was extensively employed by both. Under King William he had already been in *durance vile*. Of his bravery no one entertained a doubt—for Louis XIV. would not have enrolled among his aides-de-camp any but a gallant soldier. Notwithstanding the trouble into which this letter depicts him as having fallen, he was,

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later in Queen Anne's reign, created Duke of Brandon, in the peerage of England. Thence arose a difficulty. The House of Lords declared that the crown could not convert a peer of Scotland, of before the union, into a peer of England. The declaration was supposed to be well founded, but the rule was abolished some seventy years later. Hamilton could not take his seat as Duke of Brandon, but the queen named him Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France. The Whigs were thereby exasperated, and Lord Mohun, the very Hector of that party, adding public to private hatred (the families of the two noblemen being at law respecting the succession of an estate), fastened a quarrel on the duke, and the two hacked one another to death before complete daybreak, and in Hyde Park, on a November morning of 1712. Both antagonists died in the park, and Hamilton's death is ascribed, not to the wounds inflicted by Mohun, but to a *coup de grâce* administered to him by Mohun's second, General Macartney, who gave colour to the report by taking to flight.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"MY LORD,—Mr. Worsley, who had in his hands all his despatches for Spain, is not to go at last, Mr. Stanhope being to return thither as the queen's envoy and major-general. My Lord Sunderland has received an express this day from Hull, with advice that Admiral Baker and the transports under his convoy were seen off that place. It is said they are bound for Berwick, and that they will go back without disembarking the troops on land. We were in some pain lest they might have met Forbin on his return, but at present it is generally concluded that the French squadron is got into some of the ports of Norway. Lord Griffin had about 1,500 Louis d'or with him, which was a present from the Count de Toulouse. I find several

would have his warrant signed as a traitor and outlaw, believing it might prevail on him to make large discoveries. About a fortnight ago a messenger went into Lancashire with a warrant to take the Duke of Hamilton into custody and bring him up with him. He accordingly found his Grace at his own house, but he desiring her Majesty's leave to finish some matters he was concerned in at Stratford assizes, it was granted him. He is now on his way thither. We have great talk of my Lord Somers being designed President of the Council.

"I am, with great respect, your Lordship's most humble servant,

"J. ADDISON.

"March 23, 1707."

CHAPTER XXI.

HARMONY AND DISCORD.

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THE last scene in the Jacobite drama of 1708 is described in the next letter. There was a prevalent belief that Scotland would never be invaded again, by men with or without stockings, to which latter class the present invaders, in part at least, belonged. The precautionary measure of arresting the suspected Scottish nobles had, doubtless, a good effect. The Duke of Gordon was an old Roman Catholic whom James had appointed governor of Edinburgh Castle, which fortress the duke subsequently kept rather for that king than against William, to whom he long declined to surrender it—without, however, acting, or perhaps having the courage to act, offensively. The Earl of Seaforth mentioned below was Kenneth, the third earl, whose title was subsequently forfeited in 1715. His next brother's daughter was the celebrated beauty, Mary M'Kenzie, who became maid of honour to Queen Caroline, and who, because she was beloved by Mr. Price, is said to have been poisoned by the Countess Deloraine, the king's concubine, who had a "tendre" for Mary M'Kenzie's lover. The maid of honour recovered, and was even induced by Queen Caroline to meet the countess at supper, as a testimony to the countess's innocence, or of Mary M'Kenzie's forgiveness. Mr. Price was present, and some one remarked to him, of his mistress, "How pale and changed she looks!" "In my eyes," said Price, "she is more lovely than ever;" and this true-hearted couple

were married the next day. The Duke of Athole named in this letter was the first and most cautious duke. When Queen Anne came to the crown, Burnet said to him, "I hope no one in Scotland thinks of the Prince of Wales." "None, that I know of," answered Athole, "as long as the queen lives." Anne herself suspected that she had but a life tenure of the throne in the eyes of the Jacobites, who would treat of the succession according to their own ideas. If they were impatient, it is at least clear that Athole was inclined to "wait."

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"COCK PIT: April 2, 1708.

"MY LORD,—Yesterday, I hear, it was proposed in the House of Commons by Mr. Hysham to thank your Lord High Admiral for his great care in fitting out the fleet that had defeated the design of the French invasion. Mr. Annesley and Sir Gilbert Heathcote opposed it, but Mr. Boyle and Mr. Walpole following the first proposal, it passed with an addition of Mr. Hamden, upon the conduct of Sir George Byng. By our last letters from Edinburgh, we hear the Duke of Gordon, the Earls Murray, Seaforth, Traquair, the Viscount of Kilsyth, the Lords Sinclair and Belhaven, Sir W. Bruce of Kinross, and others, were sent prisoners to the Castle as suspected persons, and that Sir George Byng sailed northward on the 25th of March. The same letters add that three of the French frigates, while their fleet was on the coasts, landed about 80 men at Spey, who bought some stockings and provisions and embarked again. A few clans had been in motion, and it is said the Lord Drummond was gone to the hills. The Duke of Athole had excused himself from coming in by reason of an indisposition; but if any had formed a design against their country they are now forced to conceal it, the French project being entirely quashed,

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The Duke of Marlborough designed to return again to England before the opening of the campaign, unless his Grace meets with anything at the Hague that may make him change his resolution. My Lord Treasurer is gone to Newmarket. The parliament being up, I may not possibly take such frequent occasions of troubling your Lordship as I have lately done. The report I sent your Lordship in my last relating to the Duke of Shrewsbury is, I believe, altogether groundless.

“I am, with great respect, your Lordship’s obedient humble servant,

“J. ADDISON.

“I took care to convey your Lordship’s last letter to your steward, for Lady Manchester, and sent your Duke of Montagu’s by a messenger.”

The projected invasion had not succeeded, but mendacious France had trumpeted forth a contrary blast over Europe; and courts that had been at least civil to England previously, became suddenly cool, or even rude. The success of the Jacobite attempt was credited at the Venetian Signiory, and they turned it to a purpose—the very petty purpose of insulting Queen Anne through her representative. Some English cloth was reported to be on board his gondola. This was said to be an offence against the law, though some of his servants, foreigners probably, were also reported to have placed it there—an ill service to their lord, which they undertook for a bribe. Thereupon, his gondola was searched, without regard being had to his privilege as an ambassador: but this affront was immediately resented; and the spirit in which this was done by Lord Manchester, seconded by the steps taken by his government, and the intelligence that England was in a condition to compel satisfaction, brought those “very worthy and approved good masters” to a proper sense of their situation.

LORD SUNDERLAND TO LORD MANCHESTER.

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"WHITEHALL: April 6, 1708.

"MY LORD,—I have the honour of your Lordship's letters of the 3rd and 30th of March, N. S., with the enclosed memorial and answer, relating to the affront afforded you by some of those officers. I have laid the whole matter before the queen, who is very sensible how much it must reflect upon her honour, if this matter should not be resented in the highest manner; and her Majesty has therefore ordered me to signify to their ambassador here that he should not come into the presence till the senate has given you entire satisfaction and reparation in the most public manner. What that will be must in a great measure be left to your Lordship's prudence, who are acquainted with the customs of that place. If you could trace it to the Inquisitor of the Customs, he would be a proper party for an example. As I don't doubt they were encouraged to this insolence by the impudent lies the French ambassador gave out of the revolution that was like to be here upon the invasion; so, now that is so happily disappointed, and so much to the shame and confusion of the enemy, I think it's our turn to talk as big, and I don't doubt but your Lordship will treat them accordingly.

"I am, with great respect, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"SUNDERLAND."

In the Duke of Grafton of the following letter, we again encounter royal blood. His grace, the second duke, was the son of Henry Fitz-Roy, the second natural son of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland. This illegitimate scion of a king was created Duke of Grafton: the patent was never enrolled, but a docket of the Signed Bill is in the Signet Books.

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Addison sports with the foibles of the second duke, as Lord Hervey did after him, in the lines,

So your friend, booby Grafton, I'll e'en let you keep,
Awake, he can't hurt, and he's still fast asleep;
Nor ever was dangerous but to woman-kind,
And his body's as impotent now as his mind.

This duke was in love with many ladies besides the Mrs. Knight noticed in the subsequent letter; but he married a daughter of the Marquis of Worcester. He is the duke who, in the reign of George II., made love to that king's daughter, the Princess Amelia, whose father he was then old enough to have been. There was something romantic about the attachment, and on one occasion, when out hunting, they are said to have purposely lost themselves for many hours, and to have given infinite anxiety to the queen in consequence.

To Caroline herself he was very free of speech. On one occasion, she asked him if he thought she did not love the king, her husband? "G—d! madam!" said Grafton, "if I were King of France, I'd soon find out whether you did or no!" The duke was of better quality than Hervey's lines would seem to indicate. He was not a "booby," but he was shrewd, witty, and only seemingly simple. He was of such even temper that he followed calmly all his sons to the grave, one of whom he might have so followed, gladly; namely, the Lord Euston, who married poor Lady Dorothy Boyle, daughter of the Earl of Burlington, and killed her by ill-treatment, within one poor twelvemonth!

Though addicted to love-making, this duke was a businesslike man; ambitious withal, but accepting disappointment with a philosophical indifference. His political inclinations bent towards the Stuart cause. Some years after this letter was written, Pelham said to him, "I shall retire from office, as the rebellion is extinguished." "G—d!" replied the duke, with his

usual oath, "I hope, my friend, you will see it twinkle in the Highlands for a good while yet!"

The blood of Charles II. manifested itself in this duke, whose natural son, Colonel Fitzroy, married the Duchess of Beaufort, after she was divorced, on account of her intrigue with Lord Talbot. The duke, too, is in some degree connected with our own times, for we owe to him that great and convenient thoroughfare—the New Road. When this road was first projected, the Duke of Bedford stoutly opposed it, protesting that the road would make a dust in front of Bedford House, and the buildings to be erected would interrupt his prospect towards Hampstead and Highgate. The Duke of Grafton, however, overset all such opposition; but there was a perfect Capulet and Montagu quarrel between the two ducal families in consequence.

The duke preserved, to the last, his humour and his expletives. When he lay ill, in 1757, through a fall when he was out hunting, at past seventy, and which proved fatal, the old Duke of Newcastle who had been, like himself, a lover of the Princess Amelia, called to see him. The visitor rushed into the room, noisily, though he had been told that silence was necessary, flung himself on the bed, and kissed the drowsy invalid, as Newcastle was always accustomed to kiss men. "G—d! what's here?" cried the moribund. "Only I, my dear Lord!" answered Newcastle, kissing him again. "G—d!" exclaimed the other, "how can you be such a beast to kiss such a creature as I am, all over plaisters? Get along! get along!" Such was the duke of whom we have a glimpse in the following letter:—

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"COCK-PIT, April 7, 1708.

"MY LORD,—To-morrow my Lord Treasurer will return from Newmarket, and it is thought that writs for a new parliament will be issued soon after. The late

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intended invasion, we hope, may have a good influence on elections, and recommend such as are entirely in the revolution principle. We have little news stirring at present but what is built purely upon hearsay. If we may believe this, the Earl of Wemys will be made one of the prince's council. Sir John Holland, one of the postmasters, and Mr. Dunch, comptroller. Sir William Wyndham is to marry Lady Catherine Seymour, and Sir Richard . . . Sir William's sister. The Duke of Grafton is very assiduous about Mrs. Knight, and, I hear, accompanys her to the meeting most Sundays, in the afternoon, but cannot yet gain his point. She is worth, they say, without stretching her fortune, 70,000*l*. The prisoners of the Salisbury are on their way to town. The Government in Scotland continue to call in many suspected persons. The Duke of Athole is summoned to make his appearance, notwithstanding he pleads a great indisposition; two of his dependents are secured, and ordered to be brought to London for their examination. By our last letters of the 3rd inst., Sir George Byng and Admiral Baker were both in the Frith, and ready to sail for the Downs by the first fair wind. The Duke of Marlborough, it is supposed, will go to Hanover with Prince Eugene, to concert measures for the ensuing campaign, the States-General having written a letter to desire her Majesty his Grace may not return to England before the opening of the campaign.

“I am, my Lord, with great respect,

“Your obedient servant,

“J. ADDISON.

“Sir C. Cotterell has been sent with a letter from my Lord Sunderland to forbid the Ambassador of Venice that court. This morning I had with me several merchants, who were talking of the affront put upon your Lordship, and intimating that they hoped the reparation your Lordship would demand might be the free import-

ing of English cloth, or something else in favour of our woollen manufacture. At the same time they hoped your Lordship would not let the Venetians see any displeasure to the merchants, it being a thing, as they pretend, practised every day. Brown's father is a man that does great service in the city, and is much in favour with your Lordship's friends. I thought it my duty to let your Lordship know thus much ; and, therefore, I hope your Lordship will excuse me, it being only designed for private information."

Lord Manchester's attempt to import the universal musician, concerning whom he discoursed with the Duchess of Marlborough in a preceding letter, was unsuccessful. The reply of the duchess affords us a glimpse into the private life of Queen Anne—who was too busy or too careless to listen to her own band—and who had no thought of hearing and paying new players, however great their genius and vast their skill, till she had listened to her own "music," or band, the members of which seem to have enjoyed a sinecure :—

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE EARL OF
MANCHESTER.

"ST. JAMES'S : April 13, 1708.

"I am extremely ashamed to have been so long without thanking your Lordship for the honour of your letter of the 16th of March, where you seemed to desire an answer sooner ; but, indeed, I have been in a perpetual hurry ever since. I think nothing is more wanted in this country than such a person as your Lordship describes ; but the queen has so little time that she never heard any of her own music, among which she has some that is very good, and, I believe, she will not care to take any new ; though what this gentleman proposes is very little for a man that can entertain so many ways, and I should think it would be very well worth

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their while that manage our operas here to make a certain bargain with him. But everybody tells me that matter is in so much disorder that I cannot undertake to answer for any promise they should make, and therefore I am fearful to meddle in it; but if I were to retire from court, which some time or other may be one's lot, I think one could not bestow money better than to take such a person into the house; but that cannot be thought of till Woodstock is built, which may not be these many years, or, at least, in my lifetime. I am much obliged to your Lordship for thinking so much of the furniture, upon which I will trouble you again as soon as I receive the patterns you are so good as to send me. I am glad to hear your Lordship has thought of coming home, because, I conclude by myself, it is agreeable to you, and what is so will always be very sincerely wished you by your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant,

“S. MARLBOROUGH.”

The disorder in the opera house to which the duchess refers was considerable at this period. Order had not yet come out of chaos, but musical amateurs were thinking of a remedy, and the musical “quality” were willing to give it application; but this was only slowly done, and a dozen years were consumed before the “Royal Academy of Music” was founded, and an opera set going by regular subscription. Queen Anne had nothing to do with this scheme, but left the patronage of it to her successor, which royal personage headed the list of subscribers, who put down 50,000*l.*, and gave dignity to the musical drama by appointing as its directors—a leash of dukes—Newcastle, Portland, and Queensberry; a like number of earls—Burlington, Stair, and Waldegrave; with some supplementary lords, chief of whom were Lords Bingley and Chetwynd. Handel was engaged as composer, but so also was the renowned Buononcini,

mentioned in Vanbrugh's letters, and what discord arose out of this harmonious arrangement, and what epigrams were fired at and about it, from Swift down to the lowest writer who could tag a rhyme and furnish an idea, is known to us all. In eight years the money was spent, and the Royal Academy of Music at an end.

But here, meanwhile, in Queen Anne's days, unmindful as she is of sweet sounds herself, along the crowded and narrow Strand, may be seen men dressed in broad cloth, and younger men more jauntily and modish; and some have instruments under their arms, and others have instruments of smaller bulk in their pocket, and they are wending to a tavern, whose name and local habitation have but very recently disappeared, the "Crown and Anchor." While the Duchess of Marlborough is putting off hearing concerts till Woodstock is built, and called *Blenheim*, these London citizens, professors and amateurs of the tuneful art, resort to the "Crown and Anchor" to practise and promote it. They care not a *fico* for your Handels and Buononcinis; these modern composers are whippers of syllabub in their estimation. They cultivate and preserve the works of "old masters," and give little concerts now and then of very antique music, to which the public is admitted for a small fee, and purpose of great enjoyment. In this time-honoured old tavern was to be found the cradle of the "Ancient Concerts"—concerts which were born in the Strand, and after a patronage of royalty, nobility, fashionable connoisseurs, fashionable amateurs, and fashionable dunces, died out at a good and mellow old age in Sir John Gallini's rooms in Hanover Square.

The above, and some other letters in this collection, indicate the struggle which music had to establish itself here. Purcell, who had been dead but thirteen years when the Duchess wrote to Lord Manchester, foresaw this, and remarked, before he passed away to

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that place where alone his own harmony could be excelled:—"Music is yet in its nonage, a froward child which gives hopes of what he may be hereafter in England, when the masters of it shall find more encouragement. It is now learning Italian, which is its best master, and studying a little of the French air, to give it somewhat more of gaiety and fashion."

From harmony we pass to discord, in the next letters, in which the offence to the majesty of England in the person of the queen's ambassador again comes before us. This dispute was very long in the settling, so punctilious was either party; and questions deliberately put received very tardy answers; and small differences of opinion were discussed with great tediousness, and there was a weary making of references to old regulations, and the ancient laws and customs of solemn etiquette. Amid all this ceremony, Lord Manchester remained unmoved. He was resolute in demanding reparation for the wrong done, and the punishment of the evil-doers; and he was vigorously supported by the action, resolute but courteous, of his government at home.

That government, however, had its own small but troublesome difficulties with regard to ambassadors and their privileges. The "Muscovite ambassador" was about leaving England for "Muscovy" when a legal impediment stopped him. He was a man of good reputation as a punctual discharger of his debts, and in this respect he had been careful to meet all demands made upon him, before he turned his face towards Dover. In spite of this carefulness, he had however overlooked a sum of "under a hundred pounds," which was owing to a London tradesman. But the honest Russian envoy had only overlooked it for a moment; and as soon as he discovered he was yet a debtor, he provided means for discharging the claim on the day after. In the meantime his creditor had taken alarm,

and in order to make sure of payment, proceeded to secure the person of the debtor. It was really a bold step for a private individual to take against the representative of a foreign sovereign. It was like sending a tipstaff to touch the shoulder of the Czar of all the Russias himself. Nevertheless, the English creditor did not hesitate; he sent a couple of tipstaves to the ambassador's residence, which would have been Russian ground if the envoy had not previously taken his leave of the court; and as Russian ground, the ambassador would have been free from arrest. The bailiffs, however, did not stand upon niceties. They went down to the envoy's house, and as coolly arrested him as he was leaving it, as if he had been a beau slipping away from a coffee-house.

The affront was great, for the ambassador's person was held to be still sacred; and for bailiffs to lay profane hands upon it was an outrage not to be tolerated. A serious result might have occurred, but for the promptitude with which the English Government intervened. They released the remonstrating envoy, punished the bailiffs, and publicly expressed their indignant disapproval of the whole proceedings. Thus no ill consequences arose, and the Muscovite ambassador went on his way satisfied, if not rejoicing.

The same government was as determined to protect their own ambassador from insult abroad, as they were to punish those who acted with illegal violence against foreign ambassadors in England. In the double difficulty, they came off with double credit; and the respective ambassadors reaped their share of approbation too: the Muscovite for not demanding too much when the government was ready to accede to all; and Lord Manchester for insisting on full reparation, as the Venetian authorities seemed disposed, at first, to grant none at all.

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LORD MANCHESTER TO THE LORD TREASURER.

"April 6, 1708.

"MY LORD,—You will have had an account from Lord Sunderland of the affront I have received here, which though at first they seemed to disown, yet I do know it was done by their order; and, to save appearances, they have sent three of them to prison, where they are very well treated. Since which, I have demanded a public satisfaction, which is determined I shall not have; and now they have given orders to their ministers to apply to the queen, where, by their fine words, they hope her Majesty will be satisfied without anything further, and that I shall be disowned in what I have done, which I take to be impossible. The attacking the boat of an ambassador is the same as his house or his person. The descent of the Prince of Wales is at the bottom of all this business, and I can assure you, were I in France, I could not be in a worse place, where, if they durst show, it is more against the queen and the allies.

"I have sent my Lord Sunderland a full account of all this matter, who, I do not doubt, will inform your Lordship; so I must say nothing more, only that I must desire you will use your interest that nothing may be done with the Venetian ambassador that will reflect on me, which the consequence must also on her Majesty, but that he may be told the queen does expect the satisfaction I have demanded, or else I have orders to come away. The punishment in effect is nothing, though it may sound otherwise, but the making the matter so public is what they would avoid and do not like here.

"I could give you so many reasons that it would be for the interest of the common cause I should leave them in that manner, that were I to give my opinion I should advise it, though it is certain it is not so agreeable to a minister nor for his private interest. I do not doubt

but Conaro will have orders to make a fair story, but I hope nobody will do me the injustice to believe I am capable of doing anything in a matter of this nature but what is right.

“I am, &c.”

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To this communication Addison returned the following reply, in which it will be seen that any slight to Queen Anne, made through her representative, was very promptly resented by the ministers who were the constitutional guardians of the sovereign's honour :—

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“COCK PIT : April 13, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I this morning received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 6th inst., with several others enclosed in the same packet, all of which I immediately despatched according to their particular addresses, and am since told by the messenger that they were delivered safe.

“I hear the Venetian ambassador received the message by Sir Charles Cotterell with very great uneasiness and something like resentment. He was at that time confined to his bed, and is still very much indisposed. As he is in good esteem at court for his inclinations to the grand alliance, my Lord Sunderland, after having forbidden him the court on account of a high indignity offered to her Majesty in the person of her ambassador, let him know that her Majesty had a great esteem for his personal merit, and that he himself would distinguish between his public and private character, and be glad to do him all the service that lay in his power. But this only to your Lordship, who, I doubt not, must have a curiosity to know all the particulars that pass in this affair.

“The parliament was this morning prorogued for a fortnight, and 't is supposed will be suddenly dissolved.

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“We have no news that is not in the public prints.
With great respect, my Lord, your most humble servant,
“J. ADDISON.”

The uneasiness of the Venetian ambassador was greater than his resentment. In that fact we may see how fallen was the state of that once proud potentate who styled himself Duke of Venice and Dalmatia. It is a curious fact that the Venetian Republic, under its Doges, existed exactly eleven centuries. Anafesto Paulio inaugurated the long line, in the year 697, when the name of the great Cadwallader was a loved name in Britain, and the wisdom of Ina gave dignity to the Saxon lineage in Wessex. The republic, indeed, was not completely founded until A.D. 803, but that was a score of years before Egbert established the monarchy in England. Just 300 years after the accession of Anafesto, the Doge of Venice, taking the people of Istria and Dalmatia under his protection, added the latter name to his ducal title—in the year 997, when in England Ethelred was feebly resisting the invading Dane. At the end of another five centuries, Venice, its commerce and its glories, began to decay. The discovery of a new continent in the West, and of a passage to the old one in the East by the Cape of Good Hope, were death-blows to its commerce; and its glory became only a possession of the memory. At that period, the foundation of our own later power and glory were then but in a state of preparation. Civil and religious liberty were things coveted but not yet attained. When the Venetian Republic committed assault on the dignity of England, by an insult against the representative of England's majesty, the “Queen of the Adriatic,” as Venice was called, was still the seat of a government which was respectable in its decline, however grievously it had, in the days of its might, abused its privileges. But the time had come when it did not dare to refuse

justice when it was claimed as England could now claim it. For three generations more, that "queen," or "Sea Cybele," endured or enjoyed the republican administration, as it was whimsically called, of a Doge and an oligarchy. At length came the eventful year 1797—1,100 years since Anafesto was hailed its first Doge. In the century just named, the Doges ceased to be. The French were in Italy, and, by the treaty of Campo Formio, the Venetian territory was divided between France and Austria. To the latter power was awarded all the territory on the north and west of the Adige; the remainder was absorbed into what the French Government of the day styled the Cisalpine Republic. Eight years later this arrangement was set aside, and in 1805, the treaty of Presburg made over the whole of the territory of Venice to the kingdom of Italy. From the kingdom Venice was severed in 1814, since which period she has lain under the heel of Austria. Half a century has wellnigh gone by since then, and now the Queen of the Adriatic is again claimed by the kingdom of Italy. Her condition now, compared with what it was during the embassy of Lord Manchester, is a humiliating one. In the reign of Queen Anne, Venice at least obeyed a native authority; in the reign of Victoria, she does not even understand the tongue of the foreign tyrants by whom she is oppressed. From consideration of these matters, however, we pass to the opera and Oudenarde.

CHAPTER XXII.

MORE MUSIC FROM THE OPERA, AND OUDENARDE.

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THE attempt to invade Scotland in 1708, which again forms the staple of a letter from Addison to Lord Manchester, although it was foiled, was in truth but one phase of the conspiracy of a quarter of a century's duration which burst forth into action in 1715. The act which united Scotland with England was a strictly defensive proceeding on the part of the latter, but it did not deter or obstruct the leading Jacobites. That most active of the agents of the exiled James, Colonel Hawke, had traversed the length and breadth of the Highlands in 1707, communicating with the chiefs of clans, stimulating the tardy in zeal, moderating a too excessive ardour, raising funds, distributing money, and in every respect organising a widely ramified and a very dangerous plot.

Another agent who has been already mentioned as one who was willing to wait for opportunity rather than rash in seizing on it—the Duke of Athol—and of whom Lockhart speaks as of a man who would fain have acted in Scotland the part played by General Monk in England, signed, in combination with about a dozen of other noblemen and gentlemen, a narrative of the state of affairs in Scotland, and an undertaking to carry out the views most dearly cherished at St. Germain, and to be loyal to the King of Great Britain, in their sense of the word.

The attempt had great chances of success; but Sir George Byng converted it to disaster, from which the

ministers drew much political advantage. The leading men in the North would have received the first Pretender with open arms, had not an unlucky fit of the measles confined him ingloriously to Dunkirk. There were English regiments which were suspected of having been tampered with, but their loyalty was not put to the test. There was locked up in the Castle of Edinburgh a considerable portion of what was called "the equivalent," that is, the money, reward, bribe, or compensation awarded to those who had promoted the Union ; but the whereabouts of this treasure does not seem to have been known to the audacious Jacobites, who would otherwise have contrived to lay hands upon it. Fortune threw in the way of those Jacobites that of which they stood much in need, namely, a supply of cannon, shot, powder, and other munitions of war, which had formed part of the lading of a fine Dutch ship which had got ashore on the coast of Angus, and was plundered by the delighted Jacobite wreckers ; but these aids to victory proved to be, or they became, in a damaged condition, and little or no advantage was derived from this waif thrown to them by the sea.

The joy with which the overthrow of this attempt is narrated demonstrates the danger which threatened the institutions of England,—when Marlborough himself, with all his European victories and his apparent zeal, was believed to be favourable to the claims of the Jacobite king. Indeed, more than one peer and country gentleman corresponded in a favourable sense with St. Germans, but did nothing. They were not prepared to peril themselves by action, but they were willing, should success crown the invasion, to secure themselves by being able to appeal, or to refer, to the correspondence in which they had expressed good wishes for the welfare of James.

But Byng was the great stumblingblock which brought the whole expedition to grief and dishonour.

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The French fleet which escaped him went home, it was afterwards said, "sneakingly," only doing, as the active Jacobite Lockhart remarks, "much harm to the king, his country, and themselves." Of Forbin's fleet, which ran from the Firth of Forth, when the guns of Byng's men-of-war were heard instead of the signals which had been expected, the heavy-sailing Salisbury alone was taken, with the persons on board named by Addison. The rest carried back the services of gold and silver plate given to the Chevalier de St. George by Louis XIV., the splendid liveries and the rich uniforms destined for the decking the new king's Life Guards. Nothing was lost save reputation, and those victims on whom loyal English mobs were eager to lay hands.

ADDISON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"WHITEHALL : April 20, 1708.

"MY LORD,—Yesterday Lord Griffin, Lord Middleton's two sons, and Colonel Whacup were brought from the yacht, on board of which Lord George Byng had put 'em, to my Lord Sunderland's office, where they were examined by the Secretary of State, and afterwards sent to the Tower. The people were with much ado restrained from outraging them as they passed the streets. I hear they would not say anything that looked towards a confession of their accomplices in Scotland, but only that they had followed their master implicitly, without knowing anything of his designs and correspondence, or to that effect. The lawyers say they are obnoxious to the rigour of the law on several accounts. If they plead a commission from the French king, they will never be able to get over the two commissions from her Majesty that could not save a couple of malcontents in the Cevennes from being broken on the wheel. There are fifty State prisoners coming to town from Scotland, among whom are some of the greatest men of the country. It is believed this intended invasion

will have a great influence on the elections for the ensuing parliament. I have enclosed a paper that has been very much spread among the freeholders in all parts. Mr. Smith is made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it's not doubted but that James Montagu will be Attorney-General, and succeeded by Mr. Ayres of Salisbury as Solicitor-General. We hear by our East Indian ships lately arrived in Ireland, that the factory at Borneo has been ruined by the natives, who, it is said, rose upon our countrymen and cut their throats: the seasonable arrival of these ships has very much raised the old Company stock. Your Lordship may hear by other hands that the Venetian ambassador has been denied an audience, tho' he desired it, to represent the affair that has happened at Venice, till the republic has given your Lordship the satisfaction you have demanded. It is said that the Grand Duke furnished the Pope with the money that he gave the Pretended Prince of Wales; if so, his minister here will quickly hear of it.

"I am, with great respect, your Lordship's humble servant,

"J. ADDISON."

The succeeding letter requires no introduction. The writer was the grandson of the first Earl of Manchester, and of him, the author of "St. Stephen's" has rather sharply said:—

And who so fit that fickle age to lead,
An age of doubt?—A man without a creed.

It was about this time that Halifax offered a pension to Pope, who subsequently fixed the character of Bufo on that noble Lord.

LORD HALIFAX TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"April 20, 1708.

"MY LORD,—I have omitted answering two letters which I have had the honour to receive from your

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Lordship, to avoid saying anything on that subject that they were writ upon, and will only say this, that I have been more than ordinarily unfortunate, if my conduct towards your Lordship has not been agreeable to you. I dare say you are the only man in England who thinks I have not acted a right and a good part to Lord Manchester. I have long been sensible that there were those who did desire we should not be well together; but let their influence be what it will, I cannot change my inclination to your Lordship, and shall always espouse your interest and promote your good as far as I am able or allowed to do it. Upon creation of this indignity that has been put upon your Lordship at Venice, I omitted nothing that I could do that you might be supported here as you ought to be. I do not doubt but Lord Sunderland has fully informed your Lordship of the steps that have been taken. The letter he writ to prevent the Venetian ambassador coming to court was very strongly worded. Afterwards, at the ambassador's desire, he made him a visit (but he pretending to be sick, kept his bed), and talked very soundly to him, and showed great resentment against the senate. On the 18th, the ambassador put in a long memorial, setting forth all that had happened at Venice, and complaining of the infraction of the laws of their republic and the rules of their custom-house by your servants, and magnifying the respect they had paid to Her Majesty, in what had been done to the officers, and desiring that your Lordship should be directed to own they had given satisfaction already by imprisoning eleven officers, and that you should desire to have them set at liberty. But this memorial has had no other effect than to have my Lord Sunderland ordered to make an answer to it, insisting on a public satisfaction. I suppose they will transmit the memorial and the answer to your Lordship, and I must needs say everybody is disposed to support your Lordship in this

dispute. I should have added something more, but am obliged to conclude.

“Your Lordship’s humble and most obedient servant,
“HALIFAX.”

The progress which Purcell had hinted at was making way in England, where, although Italian music had been spoken of and sung, there had been so little real progress, that in Charles I.’s time the most honoured and most frequently played tunes at court were ‘Hermit Poor’ and ‘Chevy Chase.’

The pioneers of opera came forth in the succeeding reign ; and an Italian singing-master or two, with compositions of his own, may be heard of under Charles II., who was, however, no great lover of music beyond such as could be given him by his “four-and-twenty fiddlers.” It was not till late in King William’s reign that Italian music got a footing, that Tosi established concerts by Italian performers, and that Margherita del Espina, or Marguerite de l’Épine, the “Margarita” of Vanbrugh’s letter, came hither with Greber, and became the mother of the opera, and of other progeny besides.

This Eve of our musical paradise sang for wages which would not now attract a prima donna from a “café chantant.” There was so little of arrogance about her, that she was not offended at being called a “singing woman,” and so little of peevishness, that she laughed good-humouredly when she was styled “Greber’s Peg.” This ill-favoured and nobly-voiced woman ultimately married Dr. Pepusch, who, in compliment to her features, affectionately called her “Hecate.” She was a perfectly respectable woman too; whereupon Swift, who heard her at Windsor, characteristically entitled her “drab.” It was his favourite word for women whose talents were acknowledged by the town.

The great opponent of Margherita was an English one, brilliantly toned, sensitive Mrs. Tofts ; and therewith

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of course came discord. The Duke of Bedford, son of him who drained away his fortune through the "Bedford level" in the Lincolnshire fens, left the dice, by which he hoped to retrieve the fortune lost, to listen to Greber's Peg. Nottingham, the son of the Lord Keeper, felt rapture at her shake, and, as Hughes remarks,

Dull'd statesmen melted all their drowsy cares
Of England's safety in Italian airs.

But Tofts had her adorers too. The Duke of Devonshire loved Mrs. Tofts's voice as he afterwards did the voice, and person too, of Miss Champion; and the "proud Duke" of Somerset commended the same British notes, but would not willingly pay for them with notes from Threadneedle Street. These headed the parties of peers who crowded to their respective ecstatic joys, and who headed factions, than which the stage never knew fiercer, save those which boisterously confronted each other for Faustina and Cuzzoni.

When Mrs. Tofts and Margherita sang at the same house, on the same evening, one in English the other in Italian, the confusion, in a double sense, was carried to its height, and the delight was increased proportionally in intensity. At Drury Lane, there followed English operas, in the Italian style; and subsequently the strange admixture, in which English singers warbled in their native tongue to Italian vocalists, who replied in their softer or shriller accents, according to circumstances, and melodious Tofts, as Camilla, was answered by mellifluous Valentini, as Turnus.

At the time the next letter was written, Mrs. Tofts was in the last year of her career, previous to her marriage with Mr. Smith, consul at Venice, her fifty years of retirement, and a long period of shattered intellect, during which she was for ever singing snatches of song, like the fair Ophelia.

If Valentini was jealous of the coming of Nicolini

Grimaldi, as this letter indicates, the jealousy was all in vain, for Nicolini arrived in London in the latter part of the year, making his first appearance, in the Haymarket House, as Pyrrhus, in 'Pirro e Demetrio,' an opera, fourteen years old, composed by Scarlatti, arranged for England by Haym, and translated from Morselli by Swiney himself. That is to say, translated as far as translation was required for the English singers, Cooke, Ramondon, and Mrs. Tofts, who sang in their vernacular; while Margherita, La Barona, Valentini, and Nicolini sang in Italian. The result was a great success, and Lord Manchester was thanked for sending over hither one Nicolini Grimaldi, who, says Mr. Bickerstaff, "by the grace and propriety of his action and gesture does honour to the human figure; and sets off the character he bears in an opera by his action, as much as he does the words of it by his voice. Every limb and every finger," adds the 'Tatler,' "contributes to the part he acts, insomuch that a deaf man may go along with him in the sense of it. There is scarcely a beautiful posture in an old statue which he does not plant himself in, as the different circumstances of the story give occasion for it. He performs the most ordinary action in a manner suitable to the greatness of his character, and shows the prince even in the giving of a letter, or despatching of a messenger." Nicolini is further described as seeming, when alone, to fill the stage, such was his greatness of air and mien, and the majesty and demeanour which commanded the attention of the audience.

Thenceforward, Italian opera became an English institution. 'Pirro e Demetrio' was the last musical drama that was ever acted and sung half in English and half in Italian. Buononcini's 'Almahide' followed, with a full Italian company, and English singers would have found their vocation gone, had not Handel come to England and gloriously commenced his list of

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thirty-five operas, composed for the English stage, with his famous 'Rinaldo.'

VANBRUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"LONDON: May 11, 1708.

"MY LORD,—I have two letters from your Lordship of the 16th March and 20th April, and am (as well as the town) obliged to you for the endeavours you used to improve the opera here. What your Lordship says of having one or two of the top voices is certainly right. As to myself, I have parted with my whole concern to Mr. Swiney, only reserving my rent, so that he is entire possessor of the opera, and most people think will manage it better than anybody. He has a good deal of money in his pocket, that he got before by the acting company; and is willing to venture it upon the singers. I have been several times lately with him, in consultation with the Vice-Chamberlain Coke (who, being a great lover of music and promoter of operas, my Lord Chamberlain leaves that matter almost entirely to him). I have acquainted him with what your Lordship writes, and Mr. Swiney has engaged before him to allow a thousand pounds for Nicolini to stay here two winters; that is, to be here in September and at liberty to go away again the May come twelve months after. A thousand pounds makes, I think, about 1,200 pistoles, which undoubtedly he may carry away clear in his pocket; for he can't fail of advantages otherways sufficient to defray his expenses over and over. As for Santini, Mr. Swiney offers the same conditions to her, if your Lordship can prevail with her to come; or if she won't, and you think Regiana would do as well, he leaves it to your judgment, and will allow her the same. If neither of these women will come, he would venture at half this allowance, viz., 600 pistoles (or something more, as your Lordship shall think reasonable), for the two winters, if a young improving woman can be found that had a

good person and action, and that might be esteemed as good a singer as Margarita. If your Lordship can get any of these people over on the terms here mentioned, Mr. Swiney desires me to assure you of punctual performance on his part; nor is there any reason to doubt him—for he has behaved himself so as to get great credit in his dealing with the actors, and I know the Vice-Chamberlain does not in the least question his making good all he offers on this occasion; besides, he has power sufficient to oblige him to it, the house being only during her Majesty's pleasure. I have not yet had an opportunity to discourse my Lady Marlborough about your Lordship's proposition to her for Mança, but I find no disposition at all in other people to promote his coming at any great expense; and, by a letter Mr. Dayrolles has received from him, I find he expects 600 guineas a-year, which is not to be thought of. 'Tis voices are the things at present to be got, and if those top ones come over 't will facilitate bringing the queen into a scheme now preparing by my Lord Chamberlain and others, to have concerts of music in the summer, at Windsor, twice a-week, in the apartments. There is no doubt but, by some such way as this, if the best singers come, they will taste of the queen's bounty; for every one will solicit for them, that they may go away content, and encourage others to come over hereafter. So that, I hope, upon the whole, your Lordship will be of opinion you may safely persuade a couple of 'em to take the voyage; for 'tis certain the people of quality will find some means or other to send them home in good humour. I must give your Lordship one caution, by the way, which is that I have good reason to believe that Valentini (though he pretends to wish for Nicolini's coming) will, underhand, do all he can to discourage him; for he has linked himself with Mrs. Tofts (who is wonderfully improved), and, in order to make a good bargain for themselves for next winter, will certainly

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play some trick to hinder both Nicolini and a woman from coming over, if your Lordship don't apprise 'em on 't. Coleman is going on at Kimbolton. I shall send him this post the design for the upper story, in which there will be four bed-chambers and good accommodation to 'em, with a corridor that runs the whole length behind 'em, and will be very pretty, and very well lighted. I hope your Lordship will see what we have done by September, which, if it pleases you, will much rejoice

“Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

“J. VANBRUGH.

“My Lady Malborough goes now very often to court, and is in perfect good humour. I hope it will keep right.”

The good wishes expressed in the next letter were, so to speak, the heralds of Oudenarde. Scarcely two months after it was penned, the wishes were realised. On the 11th of July there was a large besieging force before Oudenarde. The Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and “James III. of England,” as the first pretender was called at St. Germain, with the Duke of Vendôme, were assailing the place. The *prestige* of victory had been, for a moment, on the French side. Ghent and Bruges had, in the previous week, fallen into their hands by surprise. And now this French besieging army, royally commanded, eagerly and impatiently expected a triumph in the onslaught against the doomed city, as they thought it, of Oudenarde.

But Marlborough and Prince Eugene were hastening to compel them to raise the siege. These great allies had divided their forces on crossing the Scheldt, and it was at the moment of this division that Vendôme proposed to attack and scatter them. But the presumption of Burgundy was more powerful in an evil direction

than the judgment of Vendôme in another way; the proposition of the latter duke was overruled, and the siege was continued.

Upon them descended Marlborough and Eugene, leading their men in such splendid style that it excited the admiration of their enemies. The adversaries encountered each other near the town of Oudenarde, where the battle was fiercely contested. The skill and bravery of the allies were put to the severest test, but it prevailed against the ability and courage of the foe. The defeat of the latter was complete, and would have been more disastrous than it was, but for the consummate judgment with which Vendôme conducted the retreat upon Ghent, reaching which, they were saved from total destruction. As it was, they lost 14,000 men and 100 standards, with other trophies which fell into the hands of the conquerors. The latter purchased their triumph at the cost of 2,000 men in killed and wounded.

The news of this victory was received in London with enthusiasm. On sea, we had gathered laurels as glorious as those won on land. In the month in which Lord Manchester wrote his letter, Commodore Wager, with his squadron of only four men-of-war, attacked seventeen Spanish gallions, near Carthagená, in the West Indies. The Spanish admiral's ship, valued at thirty million pieces of eight, was blown into the air, and the rear-admiral was captured by the commodore. The prize-money resulting from this battle, and the winning of it, was immense. The commodore's share alone amounted to 100,000*l.*, and to this solid guerdon was added the honour, well-earned, of being raised to the rank of admiral.

For double victories like these there was a double joy, and, for a season, there were no names pronounced with more gladness in London than those of Marlborough, Eugene, and the gallant Commodore Wager.

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LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

“VENICE: May 18, 1708.

“MY LORD,—Finding by my letters your Grace was going to the army, makes me take the liberty to wish you all success imaginable. It is only owing to your Grace the good posture of our affairs, and I cannot but be of that opinion, that the conclusion of that war will, in a great measure, depend on you ; and as Providence has designed your Grace to be the supporter of the Crown and the deliverer of your country, so I do not doubt it will be brought about. All in these parts took it for granted her Majesty would not have been long on the throne, and which makes the disappointment and confusion the greater, and the step the queen has made towards the Venetian ambassador makes them begin to be sensible of their error, and, I suppose, will give the satisfaction they ought. They have deputed a procurator to wait on me ; so, after so long a silence, which they flattered themselves to have prevented by M. Cornero, which I cannot imagine they would have the least hopes, after such an affront offered, they find themselves mistaken, as they are in all things relating to the affairs of the world. I should be very glad to have the queen’s orders to leave them, and that I might have the honour of waiting on your Grace in the army, no one being more sincerely, or with greater respect, than I am yours, etc.”

How a steward mixes up death and business, and begs pardon for fulfilling his duty, will be seen in this next letter :—

MR. PRITCHARD TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“LONDON: June 1, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I have received your honour’s of the 18th May, and the other of the 25th, as to Mr. Gisten-

son, secretary to the embassy to the Venetian ambassadors. He is under some great displeasure that he has gone away, and no one knows where. Some believe that he was mad, and has left all his things behind him. The Venetian ambassador at present is very much indisposed; but if I can deliver the box to any of his gentlemen, in his presence, and to have his receipt for it, I shall deliver it, but I am afraid that cannot be done; if not, I'll keep the box till I have a sure opportunity to send it. This day I have paid the five guineas to Count Gallas' secretary. His name is Primoty; it was he that ordered the same money to be paid. I have his receipt. Your honour knows before this from your Lady, that my Lady Lucy is dead. Money comes in very slow out of the country, and there is great complaints how scarce money is to be had. I should be glad to hear the good news of your honour's coming for England. I have still the good fortune to please my Lady. I humbly beg your honour's pardon, that am, my Lord, your honour's most dutiful servant,

“THOS. PRITCHARD.

“I have not heard anything of Mr. Brown. My Lady and all your honour's family are well.”

A glimpse of home and its inhabitants is afforded to the absent ambassador in the annexed letter of news:—

J. QUINTON TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“LONDON: June 3, 1708.

“MY LORD,—May it please your Excellency to accept of these as an answer to your Lordship's commands. After a dangerous passage at sea (being closely chased night and morn by . . .), we were obliged to land near Yarmouth, and in my way home, at Ipswich, happened to be run through the leg. The particulars too long to trouble your Lordship, but thought it necessary

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to mention it, to excuse myself not attending when your Excellency commanded me, being obliged to keep my bed more than a week. I landed on May 16th, arrived here 18th, waited on her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough the 29th, with the patterns, and her Grace told me they pleased her extremely, and that she would give your Lordship more trouble about them. The same day I waited on my Lady Suffolk, and my Lady Eton, who seemed well pleased to hear of your Lordship's health. May 31st I waited on my Lady Manchester, at Leeds, having not heard her Ladyship was there till I saw Mr. Pritchard, and being the same day I was wounded, could not leave the coach at Chelmsford, to make particular enquiries, which her Ladyship excused. I am glad to find my Lady look better than when your Excellency went abroad, and my Lord Mandeville much grown, and a good horseman; the two eldest daughters beautiful and marriageable, the youngest in health, and all impatiently expecting the good news of your Excellency's being recalled, as is also the desire of your Lordship's most obedient servant,

“J. QUINTON.

“Mr. Austen is still in Holland.”

The following note does not read like one written by a man who was harassed by business of the most serious importance. He was at the head of an army to which supplies were begrudgingly forwarded from home; he was carrying on war when his mistress was longing for peace; he had a dozen masters to serve, or angry equals to conciliate, when Vendôme had but one superior—the King of France; he was troubled with details of the intrigues at home to overthrow his son-in-law, the Lord Treasurer—Lord Godolphin; and was still more disturbed by the conduct of Mrs. Masham,

Harley's kinswoman, who was selling commissions to the most undeserving and most incompetent of persons. If "our army swore horribly in Flanders," its general, at least, had some little excuse for such offence against propriety.

How it fared with those who swore, fought, and survived, will be recollected by those who have read Sterne's biographical paper which precedes *Tristram Shandy*. Sterne's father, Roger, was a lieutenant in Handiside's regiment, and he married a captain's widow, whose step-father "was a noted sutler in Flanders, in Queen Anne's wars." The lieutenant, as Sterne significantly remarks, was in debt to the sutler, whose step-daughter he took for a wife. The married pair were at Clonmel, in 1713—just arrived from Dunkirk, when Lawrence Sterne was born. "My birth-day," says Yorick, "was ominous to my poor father, who was, on the day of our arrival, with many other brave officers, broke, and sent adrift into the wide world, with a wife and two children." In such wise were treated the gallant men who helped the writer of the following note to his laurels:—

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"CAMP AT TORBANCK: June 4, 1708.

"MY LORD,—I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 18th; and though I was at first very sorry to hear of an accident that must for some time make your stay at Venice less agreeable to you than was desired by your friends, yet I hope the steps the queen has made, and the prudent management you have observed on this occasion, will at last turn to her Majesty's honour and your satisfaction. As to what you desire for your return home, I suppose you have writ the same thing to Lord Sunderland, with whom I

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shall be glad to join in anything you can desire ; and if the queen is pleased to grant your request, shall think it a great happiness if my quarters happen to lie in your way.

“I am, with great truth, your Lordship’s most faithful humble servant,

“MARLBOROUGH.”

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PEACE THROUGH WAR.

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THE “Eliza Montagu” who writes the following letter of affection, reproof, and gossip, to her brother, the ambassador, was Elizabeth, Lord Manchester’s second sister, the wife of Sir James Montagu, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Of the other sisters, one was the “sister Suffolk” of this letter, namely, Anne, who married James Howard, the third Earl of Suffolk, and whose son, Edward Howard, was, in 1725, committed to the Tower, by vote of the House of Peers, for granting written protections, contrary to the order of the House. The youngest sister, Catherine, was married to the Mr. Edwin of Llanvihangel, Glamorganshire, noticed below; and the other sister, Eleanor, died unmarried.

The “Aunt Lucy” mentioned in this letter was the daughter of the second earl, Edward, by Essex Cheek of Pirgo, of whom we have previously heard in these volumes. Lucy was the second daughter of this marriage, and she died a spinster. The elder daughter, Essex, was the wife of Lord Irwin.

In the marriage here noted of the Cavendish family there is a singular error. Lady Betty Cavendish, who married Sir John Wentworth, had no brother named George. It was her brother Lord James Cavendish who married the merchant’s daughter.

That Lord Frederick Howard, the Romanist Duke of Norfolk’s uncle, should become a convert to Protestantism was not astonishing. His brother, the seventh

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duke, had been also, originally, a Roman Catholic, but he became a member of the Established Church in the reign of Charles II. This was the duke who, as Earl Marshal, ushered James II. to the door of the chapel where mass was about to be celebrated, and who there bowed as about to take leave. "Duke!" said the king, "your father would have gone farther." "And yours, sir," replied the duke, "not so far!" This duke was really a firm and steady Protestant. It was his divorced wife, Lady Mary Mordaunt, who married the notorious gambler Sir John Germaine, the son of an inn-keeper. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the Duke of Devonshire took Lord Frederick for ghostly counsel, was the learned and liberal Tennison.

The effect produced by the defeat of the French attempt to invade Scotland is strongly indicated in this letter. Nevertheless, there was as much malice as joy elicited by the occasion. Byng was accused of a negligence which almost amounted to treason. It was said that he might as easily have taken the whole French fleet as one vessel, the Salisbury; and that he had not fully carried out the mission with which he was entrusted. This, however, was not correct. His instructions were to prevent the French from landing; and this he did without receiving any, and truly without inflicting much, damage. His enemies alleged that his ships were impeded in their sailing by the foulness of their keels and sides. So much clamour arose that at last an enquiry was instituted in the House of Commons. It resulted favourably to the gallant admiral. The House declared, by their resolution, that Byng had exercised every possible despatch, and that by his expeditious action he had accomplished all that had been required of him.

He was thought worthy of all honour; but he was not yet destined to reap it. Thirteen years elapsed before he was created, by George I., Baron Byng, of

Bedford, and Viscount Torrington, of the county of Devon. The present viscount is the admiral's great-great-grandson. CHAP.
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The rebel Lord Griffin was not executed ; but neither was he liberated. After a strict confinement, he died, a prisoner, in the Tower.

LADY E. MONTAGU TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“ June 8, 1708.

“The expectation of letters from you, dear brother, and the uncertainty of your stay at Venice, prevented me writing. I am much pleased that matters will be adjusted before you leave that place, which I see in your letters to Lord H—— you desire ; and he tells us orders will go from the queen, which I am very glad of ; for in yours to sister Suffolk of the 29th June (*sic*), we imagined you had no thoughts of coming, because you never mentioned anything like it, so that we were surprised and a little angry with you, that you had asked leave and did not tell us so ; for we are often asked the question when you come ; and unless we had met Lord H——, who is often one of us at this time of year, we must have said we knew nothing of it from you, when all the talk is of it, which they would have wondered at, and, I believe, have had the same thoughts as I have, that when near relations are ignorant of the concerns of one another, their kindness can't be very great.

“I am sure we have all lost a kind friend in poor aunt Lucy, who would have done whatever lay in her power to serve us, and left every one something to remember her. I am sure we miss her extremely ; but, as you say, death must be the end of us all ; and I'm glad to hear you think often of it.

“My Lord Coloraine is dead. This summer has been so cold and wet that the town is not very empty yet. The queen is much better since she went to Windsor,

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but has still a weakness in her legs, but no pain. The prince has been mighty ill there, but is now better. Mrs. Hart is maid of honour in place of Mrs. Temple, who has married a younger son of Sir Charles Littleton. My Lord George Cavendish is married to a daughter of Mr. Yale, a merchant—she has but 8,000*l.*, and not handsome, and all his relations against the match: his sister, Lady Betty, is married to-day to Sir John Wentworth; and my Lord Sheward is to be, as soon as the lawyers have done their part, to Mrs. Brown. My Lord Fred. Howard, the Duke of Norfolk's uncle, a very young man, is turned Protestant: the Duke of Devonshire carried him to wait on the Archbishop of Canterbury, and next Sunday he is to receive the sacrament at St. James's Church.

“The joyful news of the defeat of the French has given people another life and spirit; for I find those that know most, thought affairs had had a bad prospect before. Mr. Edwin is in town: he came up to settle some matters of his office with Mr. Smith, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Our acquaintance has been very unreasonable in that affair—too long to tell you in a letter . . . but I believe there will be nothing done at last.

“Mr. Edwin sends his service to you, and hopes you received his two letters that he wrote some time ago. I saw your doctor, who I was sorry was forced to leave you; but I hope in God you will not want him, and that I shall be happy in seeing you by Michaelmas, which will be an agreeable satisfaction to, dear brother, your affectionate sister,

“ELIZA MONTAGU.

“Sister Suffolk gives her service to you: all your friends are well. The Attorney-General's place is not yet disposed of, and it is doubtful whether Sir James will be in or no; at present he does both. My Lord Griffin is reprieved for a month: everybody concludes he will not die.”

The next letter satisfactorily concludes the story of the dispute founded on the offence committed against England in the person of her ambassador :—

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LORD SUNDERLAND TO LORD MANCHESTER.

“WHITEHALL: June 25, 1707.

“MY LORD,—I have the honour of your Lordship’s letter of the 15th inst., N. S., with the enclosed copies of the Memorial and the Senate’s answer, which I have laid before the queen, who does entirely approve of every step your Lordship has taken in the whole affair, and is very well pleased to see the matter is so near a conclusion to her honour and the nation’s, and I am sure it will be very much to your Lordship’s, the part you have acted in it; and, in order to bring it the sooner to a good conclusion, since the senate yield the two main points, the queen is very willing to admit of the expedient you mention in your letter in the room of the pillory; or, if that is not agreed to, does empower your Lordship to agree with them upon any other which you think suitable, which is left entirely to your prudence.

“As for the cloth, the queen thinks what you propose in sending it to the hospitals is right.

“I saw the Venetian ambassador, who seems very well pleased that this dispute is so near at an end. I told him he must not expect to see the queen till everything was actually done on their part. I am, with great respect, your Lordship’s most obedient servant,

“SUNDERLAND.”

There was a poet who said of his valiant little hero,

His modesty’s a flambeau to his merit,
It shines itself, and shows his merit too.

Heroes, however, have not invariably been modest; and though the standard-bearer of the tenth legion could stimulate his comrades to deeds of great daring by

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talking to them of duty—not even uttering the word glory—yet their great commander-in-chief, on another occasion, marred much of a fair precedent by that famous despatch, “Veni, vidi, vici!” of which the only merit is its brevity.

One of our own admirals, after a fierce and successful contest with the fleet of a gallant adversary at sea, did not trouble my Lords at the Admiralty with any further account than was contained in the words, “Sunk, burnt, and captured of the enemy’s fleet as noted in the margin.”

The Black Prince said of Crecy and Poitiers, that God had granted the English great victories on those fields—not a word did he say of the arm of flesh, of the mortal thews and sinews, of the stout hearts of the brave Englishmen who had overcome on those days the gallant adversaries, who gave to the triumph increase of splendour, by making it so hard of winning. God had vouchsafed that victory should sit upon their helms—he and his mates were but as instruments in the Vouchsafer’s hands.

So is the brightest day in the annals of Beverley an illustration of a similar fact. King Henry V. is in the ancient town, and joy bells are ringing, and pennons are flying from the roofs of tall edifices, and the walls are hung with tapestry and flowers, and priests are moving in procession, and censers are swinging, and incense rising, and soldiers—weather-beaten, and still something haggard—follow in serried ranks; and then comes one, walking meekly and alone, but with true hero in every gesture, and as he appears, a shout bursts forth upon the air, and is kept up along the line by which he modestly passes.

That one who excites such enthusiasm is the royal Harry who won Agincourt, and he is in Beverley because of that victory;—not because he won the wreath on that eventful day, but that he has come to thank the

conqueror. Previous to trying fortune on that unpromising occasion, he turned in thought to St. John of Beverley, and asked his help, and undertook not to be ungrateful for any amount of aid rendered. The leader of an enfeebled force might have better addressed himself, had he only remembered who it is that has said "The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong;" but he selected a saint, according to the fashion of the times, to whom he chose to be obliged, and the victory at Agincourt being with the English, it had been gained by St. John, and not by King Henry, and Henry was in Beverley to thank the saint, accordingly.

A moderate volume might be written on the literature of triumphant generals—from the first battle on record, in which Chederlaomer abused his victory, by carrying off a neutral, down to recent times in which we have seen a leader claim the army of his adversary as the "property" of his own host; and after running away under cover of the night, declare himself victorious, because his antagonist had not followed him.

But modesty in a greatly heroic general was never so grandly illustrated as in the next letter from Marlborough to Lord Manchester. If it be remembered how the general had been troubled by political struggles at home, depressed by ill health, and crossed by his allies, the calmness with which he announces a victory is all the more remarkable. Let us recapitulate these circumstances.

The year had begun with that famous scene in Queen Anne's Council Chamber. The Privy Council had assembled, Anne was seated at the table, and Harley was ready to commence business, but neither Marlborough nor Godolphin was present. The General-in-Chief and the Lord Treasurer had declared that they would not sit at the council with Harley—and the latter was pale and agitated as he heard the murmur which arose at

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the table, as he was about to speak, and was interrupted by Somerset, who protested that deliberation was impossible in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief and the Lord Treasurer. The council broke up. The queen was at once angry and alarmed. The minister fell.

But the difficulties of Marlborough and Godolphin only increased. Their foreign policy and continental negotiations were defeated by a back-stairs influence; and under more discouraging circumstances than any which had ever attended him, he began that campaign of 1708 which was to bring him more glory than any he had acquired since that of the campaign in which he was the victor at Blenheim.

In April he and Eugene met at the Hague. They agreed to form two armies, in Brabant and on the Moselle, and not to let their ally, the Elector of Hanover, into the secret of their determinations, as some of his courtiers would be sure to sell the secret to the French. A thousand difficulties from a thousand quarters beset Marlborough; even the Dutch and Flemings, whom he had come to save from the French, thwarted and betrayed him. A gigantic game of chess ensued between him and Vendôme, the French commander—the latter striving to advance, and being checked at every point by the duke, who had but seventy to his great adversary's hundred thousand men.

By treachery, Ghent and other cities fell into the power of the French, by whom Oudenarde was then invested, with orders from Versailles to take it at any cost. At that moment, Marlborough was seriously ill, but had not the leisure to attend to such a matter. "I will venture everything," he said, "rather than lose Oudenarde."

He had the advantage of having with him a man, Prince Eugene, who, though of different country and religion, seemed but as a part of Marlborough's mind

and will. They had the further advantage, that they were always doing, whereas the several French heads of command were in dispute as to what should be done.

Little more need be said. Oudenarde was fought on ground to which the French had been compelled to betake themselves. It was a battle of episodes; a battle fought without artillery, without cavalry—to any extent, but chiefly by the foot, and with musket and bayonet.

General Cadogan, who showed on that day of what stuff was made the ancient blood of the princes of Powys, became ultimately a peer, and Marlborough's successor. He was the lord who afterwards proposed that Atterbury should be "thrown to the lions," and was stigmatised in the following epigram:—

By fear unmoved, by shame unawed,
Offspring of hangman and of bawd,
Ungrateful to th' ungrateful men he grew by,
A bold, bad, boist'rous, blust'ring, bloody booby.

Marlborough found many ungrateful men whom he had helped to coronets and ermine—Lord Stair among the number; but these were not matters which seriously affected his mind. He had won a battle which, but for want of two hours more of daylight, would have put an end to the war. As it was, it placed great opportunity for good in the queen's hands, if she would only, as Marlborough said, "be pleased to make use of it!" Of the great achievement, he thus modestly writes to Lord Manchester:—

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"CAMP AT WERWICK: July, 1708.

"MY LORD,—I return your Lordship many thanks for the favour of your letter of the 22nd last month, and was glad to see your Lordship was like soon to have just satisfaction from the republic of Venice.

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You need not doubt then but the queen will readily grant your desire of returning home. We are in great expectation to hear of Sir John Lake's being sailed for Catalonia, where the succours from Italy will have been very much wanted, since we hear the Duke of Orleans persisted in the siege of Tortosa, notwithstanding the loss of his provision ships taken by our fleet.

"Your Lordship will have heard with concern the enemy's taking the city of Gand, by treachery of some of the inhabitants; but the good news that will soon have followed, of our defeating, on Wednesday last, part of their army near Oudenarde, and obliging them to retire behind the canal between Gand and Bruges, will have made some amends.

"We took between 6,000 and 7,000 prisoners, besides about 700 officers, of which several are of note, and a great number of standards and colours. Our army lay on their arms that night, and on Thursday encamped on the field of battle. On Friday we rested, the troops having need of some ease after their great fatigue; and about midnight detached forty squadrons and thirty battalions towards the enemy's lines, between Warneton and Ypres. The whole army followed by break of day and encamped at Helchin, whence we pursued our march to-day to this camp, close to their lines, which we found our detachment had forced, and taken 500 prisoners, the only guard the enemy had left for their security. We do not hear that their army is marched from behind the canal, which, with their possessing of Gand, will be a great obstruction to our bringing up our heavy cannon and artillery; so that, I fear, we shall be obliged to retake that place before we can make any further progress.

"I am, with great truth, your Excellency's most faithful humble servant,

"MARLBOROUGH."

Lord Manchester looked upon Oudenarde as the harbinger of a general peace. He began to examine his accounts, accordingly, to settle old scores, for or against him, and, in the prospect of much pleasant business to come, to put forward his own claims for employment, with proofs of his being worthy of it.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE LORD TREASURER.

“VENICE: July 27, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I cannot omit congratulating your Lordship on the great and glorious victory the Duke of Marlborough has obtained, which we have just the news of, with many particulars, and which will be a great mortification in these parts. The consequence, I cannot but think, may go much farther than can be imagined. At present, the partisans of France have nothing now to say, but that there will be soon a general peace.

“Lord Sunderland will have acquainted your Lordship that the dispute I have had here is at last adjusted, only that I wait for her Majesty’s approbation, and do hope also for her leave to return, not seeing my stay here can be of any service but what might be as well done by a resident. I have such obligations to your Lordship, and do depend on your protection, that whatever I propose in relation to myself, you will put a favourable construction on, and will act in it as your Lordship shall think proper, which I shall ever acquiesce in at the end of this campaign; for I think we may reasonably expect success in other parts. It may produce a treaty of peace, and plenipotentiarys may be named. I have gone through so many embassies, and have had the honour of a post of great distinction, not only under the late king, but even her present Majesty, that it is a piece of vanity, after having been in so many courts, that I desire your Lordship will have me in your thoughts, and will lay it before her Majesty in its

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proper time, that I may have the honour of being one. I cannot but think I know the situation of the affairs of Europe; but whenever that happens there will be such preliminaries agreed on that the rest I take to be more form than anything else; besides, as I was in France, and left it in the manner I did, which showed the necessity of engaging in this war, where I did speak very truly, and told them what they might reasonably expect, it would be some satisfaction to me to be at such a treaty, and to find I was not mistaken.

“I thought it proper to mention this, and should willingly continue abroad on such an account; otherwise your Lordship cannot but believe I have inducements enough to wish to be at home. I have also another request, that your Lordship will order me some further payment that may enable me to pay the bills I have drawn. Near the time this will come to you, there will be due to me a year on my appointments, besides a year and a half on my extraordinaries. I should not give your Lordship any more trouble of this nature, could I well avoid it. I am,

“M.”

CHAPTER XXIV.

INFLUENCES OF OUDENARDE ON THE OPERA —
GLANCE AT OLD AMERICA.

GIBBON remarks, that the Tartar invasion of Russia affected the price of herrings in the English market; it is not, therefore, so astonishing to find that the battle of Oudenarde was expected to have some advantageous influences on Italian opera in England.

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The reference to the Lord Chamberlain's oppressive demands on the manager of the opera, in the annexed letter, illustrates a curious fact. The chamberlains dealt very hardly with the theatrical people, and made exactions which became intolerable. Long after the period in which Vanbrugh wrote the note below, these officials claimed the privilege of writing orders of admission, of holding certain boxes, and of having a right of free entry for themselves and household, which included a very wide circle of friends. The gallery folk, who went once to the opera out of curiosity, and then wearied of it, were more profitable patrons to the undertaking than the lord chamberlains.

The mention of a Lord Bindon here seems to carry one back to a peerage which was founded in 1559, and became extinct, after being held by a father (Thomas Howard, son of the fifth Duke of Norfolk) and his two sons, in 1610. That father had for daughter one of the most remarkable women of her time—she who first married with Prannell, the city vintner, then with the Earl of Hertford, and lastly with the Duke of Richmond. After the Bindon peerage had been extinct for nearly a

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century, it was revived in the person of Henry Howard, son of the fifth Earl of Suffolk, and afterwards the sixth earl. Vanbrugh should have spoken of him as Lord Howard of Bindon.

The well-known and unreasonably-founded dislike of Queen Anne to the illustrious Lord Somers is alluded to in the next letter. The ex-chancellor, however, as Lord President of the Council, in his intercourse with the queen, was so polished and so deferential, that great Anne at least concealed her dislike to the renowned and patriotic Whig statesman. He must have pleasantly contrasted, in Anne's unbiassed judgment, with Harley, of whom, fond as she was, she complained that he occasionally came to her—when she granted him private audiences (after seeing Somers)—under the influence of liquor. “I remember,” writes the Duchess of Marlborough, “to have been at several of Lord Somers's conversations with Queen Anne, to fill out their tea and wash their cups. 'Tis certain that as soon as he got into his post, to obtain which I so often urged the queen, he made his court to Abigail, and very seldom came to me; and it is true that Lord Oxford and St. John used to laugh in their cups (which came out by the Duke of Devonshire), that they had instructed the queen to behave so as to make Lord Somers think he should be her chief minister.” She could act a part very well when her lesson was given her, and in a little time it appeared very plain to the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin that Somers thought of nothing so much as to flatter the queen, and went to her frequently in private.

Evidently, Somers was as little of a favourite with the duchess as with the queen. He perhaps was suspected of being too intimately acquainted with matters which the duke would fain have held a profound secret in his own keeping. It is, at least, said that among the papers of Somers, which came into the possession

of Mr. Yorke, the chancellor's son, were many relating to the assassination plot against William, and that, in some of them, it appeared that the Duke of Marlborough was deep in the schemes projected at St. Germain's. These papers perished in a fire which broke out in Lincoln's Inn, in 1752. But, from this gossip, let us turn to the more pleasant and varied prattle of Vanbrugh, whose letter is here laid open before the reader:—

VANBRUGH TO THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

“LONDON: July 27, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I have received your Lordship's letter of the 22nd June. I lost so much money by the Opera this last winter that I was glad to get quit of it, and yet I do not doubt that operas will thrive and settle in London. The occasion of the loss was three things—one, that half the season was past before the establishment was made, and then my Lord Chamberlain, upon a supposition that there would be immense gain, obliged us to extravagant allowances. Another thing was, that the town, having the same notion of the profits, would not come into any subscription. And the third was, that, although the pit and boxes did very near as well as usual, the gallery people, who hitherto only thronged out of curiosity, not taste, were weary of the entertainment. So that, upon the whole, there was barely money to pay the performers and other daily charges; and, for the clothes and scenes, they fell upon the undertakers. I might add a fourth reason, that I never could look after it myself, but was forced to leave it to managers. Mr. Swiney has now undertaken it himself, and I believe will go through with it very well; nor will he want subscriptions to help him. I do not doubt but Nicolini will be mightily well received, and find his account. And, if once a peace comes, there will be many things to support music which are wanting now.

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This last stroke in Flanders, I hope, will procure one. We are in great expectation of what will become of this French army, people taking it for granted how they cannot possibly get off without fighting again, which is not likely to recover their affairs. I have not yet been at Kimbolton since my Lady came through from Lees (?), but design to wait on her on Saturday next, when I believe I shall find all right, and, as I hear, very much advanced. I have a constant correspondence with Coleman, and am, in most things, very well satisfied with him. If we had such a man at Blenheim, he would save us a thousand pounds a year. We have made a vast progress there, but it will still take up two summers more to finish. I met Sir John Coniers there on Thursday last, with several visitors with him. He made mighty fine speeches upon the building, and took it for granted no subject's house in Europe would approach it, which will be true, if the Duke of Shrewsbury judges right in saying 'There is not in Italy so fine a house as Chatsworth;' for this of Blenheim is, beyond all comparison, more magnificent than that. My Lord Carlisle has got his whole garden front up, and is fonder of his work every day than other. The Duke of Shrewsbury's house will be about half up this summer. My Lord Bindon is busy, to the utmost of his force, in new moulding Audley End, and all the world are running mad after building as far as they can reach. I heartily wish to see your Lordship at Kimbolton, where I earnestly desire nothing may be done to the bow window till you come; for there are many things to be considered, or which may depend on that alteration. The Vice has been laid up of a severe fit of the gout at Grimsthorp ever since his election, but is now just got to town, and pretty well. Things are in an odd way at Court; not all the interests of Lord Treasurer (?) and Lady Marlborough, backed and pressed warmly by every man of the Cabinet, can

prevail with the queen to admit my Lord Somers into anything—not so much as to make him Attorney-General. She answers little to them, but stands firm against all they say. My Lord Chamberlain is in a tottering way. I know he expects to be out, which he has not a mind to; he has, in a trivial thing, disobliged my Lady Marlborough to a great degree. She is very much at Court, and mighty well there, but the queen's fondness of the other lady is not to be expressed. I will give your Lordship an account of things at Kimbolton next week, I hope to your satisfaction, being most sincerely your Lordship's obliged and very obedient humble servant,

“J. VANBRUGH.

“Old Sir Walter St. John is dead at last. I hear one of the old gentlemen who stood in your Lordship's way at the Carlton House is so too. The other I am acquainted with—he lives just by Blenheim—is hearty, but drunk every day, at least once.”

Court intrigues and general politics form the substance of the next letter. It has no signature, but is endorsed “Mr. Ed——ds.” It vividly recalls the time when Somerset and Devonshire were eagerly assuring the Whig members of the House that if the queen nominated divines of Tory principles to the episcopate, her heart was altogether with the Whigs. At which the Whig gentlemen bowed, smiled, and declined to believe a word of it. On the other hand, Harley, St. John, and Harcourt, were as eagerly dealing with the Tories, protesting that the royal heart was altogether affected warmly towards them, and that her Majesty was weary of the Whigs, and would fain be rid of them; but the Tory gentlemen nodded their heads, laughed or frowned, and were not to be persuaded. When each party came to know that the other had been the object of assurances that its members were the men whom the queen

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delighted to honour, both united in denunciations of the duplicity of ministers, and the ill-faith of governments generally.

It is manifest, too, from "Lord D——'s" letter to Lady Marlborough, that, despite all the glory acquired and in prospect, there were men who were weary of the war in which they were actively engaged. Amid its great scenes and episodes, the smaller incidents should not be forgotten. One of these was connected with the famous convoy entrusted to the guardianship and courage of General Webb. Marlborough, besieging Lille, was in want of ammunition. A train of 800 waggons was despatched to him from Ostend, and Marlborough detached Webb with 6,000 men to secure its safe passage.

To destroy or get possession of this convoy was of vast importance to the French, who, with 20,000 men and forty pieces of cannon, encountered Webb on his way. The latter, by skilful manœuvring, kept his men out of the way of the French artillery, and when the affair came to be one of close quarters, he handled his little force so well, that he compelled his formidable adversary to retreat in some confusion, with a loss in killed and wounded amounting to 6,000 men—the number of the whole of Webb's army. Since the renowned "day of the herrings," in the old English wars in France, a more gallant and creditable affair in the way of defending a convoy and repelling the assailants had not been recorded in the annals of war.

It made of General Webb a popular hero; and the hero himself became so proud of his heroism as soon to look unheroic. He loved to talk of this exploit, to fight the battle over and over again. He was, on one occasion, puffed up with vanity, narrating the contest and victory to the Duke of Argyle, who had heard the one fought, and the other gained, at least a score of times. "I received no less than four wounds on that day!" said Webb.

“What a pity, my dear general,” replied the Duke of Argyle, “that one of them was not in your tongue. You would then have left to others the task of celebrating your victory!” We are not told how Webb bore this rebuff.

“MY LORD,—I confess it is a great while since I did myself the honour to let you know how things go on in this part of the world, but my Lady Manchester, I hope, has acquainted your Lordship with my concern at those difficulties which have been the occasion of so long a silence.

“Though you have, very much to your honour, obtained an ample satisfaction in your late dispute with the Venetians, yet I was under great temptations to wish they would have continued more obstinate, that we might have had war the sooner among us. We have had a great many fine strokes in politics within this twelvemonth, but as to the main, the C(*ourt*) continues of the same make it was when you left England, steadily pursuing the same views, and resolving to maintain itself upon a separate bottom, both from Whig and Tory. As they stand at present, it is impossible they can ever go into the Torys, and yet will not go into the Whigs. They have not at any time, these three last years, been at a greater distance with the French than now; and making it their business to get what friends they can from them, put no one into employments that apply themselves to them, or are recommended by them. The Whigs are the majority in this parliament by about thirty.

“Great industry has been used in the election of the sixteen Scotch peers, that I find people are of an opinion that the sessions will open pretty warmly upon the subject in the House of Lords.

“Poor Mr. Shute continues yet unprovided for; and, after such repeated promises and assurances, that if

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your Lordship knew but the history of that affair, you could not but think it very extraordinary, though I remember your opinion of it before you left us.

“There has been, for some time, a breach between my Lady Marlborough and my Lord Chamberlain, which begun upon a very foolish occasion, but is now carried to so great a height, that she talks of him with the greatest contempt in the world, which he is well aware of, and, I dare say, thinks he stands upon very slippery ground; and if she has right enough with my Lord Treasurer (which no one can doubt), will certainly rout him. And as I have no one’s interest so much at heart as your Lordship’s, I can’t but wish and hope to see your staff in good hands, whither, I think, it must naturally tend, if there is such a thing as justice upon the face of the earth.

“A very unhappy accident has befallen the Muscovite ambassador, who, after he had taken his leave of the queen, was, by a combination of several tradesmen, arrested, and treated with a good deal of insolence by the bailiff. We are afraid the Russian merchants will pay dear for this ill-usage. The Court has done what they could to discourage the action, and took the persons concerned into the custody of a messenger; but they were soon set at liberty by the Habeas Corpus Act. In the meantime the ambassador has gone away, refusing the queen’s present, and her yacht that was to have carried him to Holland. In all probability this unhappy affair will produce an act of parliament this next sessions, to prevent anything of the nature again; and they talk of sending my Lord Carmarthen to the Czar, to piece up the matter.

“My Lady Marlborough shows a letter she had from my Lord D., in which he says he hopes this will be the last campaign he will be obliged to make. In return for what I send your Lordship, the only thing I desire to hear is, that you are very soon to leave Venice, which

will give a very great and sensible pleasure to your Lordship's humble servant.

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"LONDON: August 19, 1708.
("Mr. Ed——ds.")

From Mr. Edwards's gossiping epistle, we may turn to another from Vanbrugh—full of professional details made from "Bickleswade," as he calls the old posting town, *Biggleswade*—as an architect, and as full of musical matters, entered upon with the earnestness of a man who loved his subject.

VANBRUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"BICKLESWADE: Aug. 17, 1708.

"MY LORD,—I wrote to your Lordship near three weeks since from London, that I should go to Kimbolton in ten days, which I did accordingly. I have been there again, and found my Lady and all the family well about three hours ago. I am glad to hear your Lordship is ordered home. I hope you'll find the shell of your building complete; the east end is up to the battlements, and the west is not much behind it; the timbers of the roof are raised upon 'em both. The middle part of the front waited for some new stones, and so is not quite so forward as the rest, but will very soon overtake them. It looks extremely well from the other end of the canal, and will make a show one would not expect from a building composed of such very indifferent materials. I hope you will find the apartment within worthy of the good furniture your Lordship has provided for it. The velvet is to be done on Friday, and great expectation there is of it. This has been a most miserable year for fruit; but there is more and better at Kimbolton than in many other places, and a mighty prospect of grapes, which have failed almost everywhere. If the painter your Lordship brings over be a good one, he may find work enough; but the new rooms at

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Kimbolton can't be ready for him this winter. So I suppose you'll set him to work upon the hall. I most heartily wish you a quick and pleasant voyage, and am your Lordship's obedient servant,

“J. VANBRUGH.

“I doubt the composer your Lordship speaks of bringing won't come to account, neither to the opera nor to himself, for people here will never believe him good unless they had heard of him as a more famous man; besides, there are so many operas now in being, which are translated ready to be performed, that there will be no want of new compositions for many years. But if your Lordship brought a perfect good violin to lead and govern the orchestra, it would be of great service. Nicolini, that belonged to the Duke of Bedford, and is now at Rome, is thought by the skilful here to be as good as any in Europe for that particular service. I hope Nicolini, the singer, continues his resolution, for they have cast all their affairs depending on his coming, and 't is necessary he should be here as soon as possible.”

Of Nicolini, the violinist “that belonged to the Duke of Bedford,” nothing now is known; but his great namesake, Nicolini Grimaldi, did not disappoint his expectant admirers in England, nor dishonour the reputation which, for ten years, he had enjoyed in Italy. He was as great an actor as he was a singer, and Steele, who was not pleased with the serious opposition the opera offered to the prosperity of the theatre in which he had an interest, rendered full justice to the clever foreigner, in this respect. That the public might have no doubt as to his skill and sweetness, the prices of admission were doubled, and it was at once felt that Nicolini was no common man. He was, undoubtedly, the first great Italian singer that came over to England, though he had been preceded by “artists” who did not lack skill.

Nicolini remained in England till 1712, being especially famous for his performance in Handel's opera of 'Rinaldo.' Three years later he returned, when he and 'Rinaldo' rendered the public as enthusiastic as before. Subsequently, the well-used voice declined in strength and sweetness; but Nicolini continued to sing, nevertheless, in Italy, as late as 1726.

It is curious to hear Vanbrugh asserting that the managers had so many operas ready translated that there would be no want of novelty for years to come. Happily, a man came before Vanbrugh's indefinite period was at an end, and a great change ensued. This man renders musically illustrious the closing years of Queen Anne's reign. It is hardly necessary to say that Handel was that man. He came hither in 1710, when Aaron Hill, after a life of great variety in travel, literature, and speculations, found himself director of the opera. It was he who proposed to Handel the subject of Rinaldo and Armida for an opera, for which Rossi wrote the libretto—bit by bit, being scarcely able to supply the composer with words as fast as the latter could set them to imperishable music.

In 1711, 'Rinaldo' drew delighted crowds, night after night, throughout the latter half of a season; and the name of Nicolini was the one most on people's lips who loved to talk of vocalist and vocal music. In 'Rinaldo' the public forgot 'Almahide' and 'Hydaspes,' the preceding operas, in the latter of which the English singer, Lawrence, sang in Italian; and Addison said of him, that were it necessary to get up an opera in Greek, Lawrence would learn Greek in a fortnight as correctly as he had learned Italian! It was in 'Hydaspes' that occurred that famous combat of Nicolini with the lion, to whom he was thrown for a sacrifice, in presence of an enlightened assembly of spectators. But among the latter was the mistress of the devoted victim; and he, taking courage from her

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presence, faced the savage beast, subdued him by force or sweetness of song, and strangled him to the prettiest accompaniment of trills and quavers that ever soothed a garrotted lord of the forest.

The latter plays as conspicuous a part in the 'Spectator' as it did in the opera. We are told, for instance, that the public, who had expected a supply of tame lions from the Tower, had, up to the time of writing, been treated to three different lions, played by as many different men successively, in the one skin. First a candle-snuffer, who, owing Nicolini a grudge, was considered as too mischievous; secondly, a tailor, who died too readily, but once ripped up the singer's tights, in order that he, the tailor, might have a job; and, thirdly, a country gentleman, who played for his amusement, and did not wish his name to be known, lest his friends should designate him as "the ass in the lion's skin"!

'Rinaldo' was an opera *à grand spectacle*, with sensational scenic effects, and, in one act, a flight of real sparrows, which got into the house and fluttered out the wax candles. With all this, the "quality" of Queen Anne's time were content; at all this, Addison tilted with pleasant satire and light laughter, while public and critics enjoyed the drama, the scenery, and actors, and had not a single word of comment as to the merits of the foreign composer, Handel, except a word or two of sarcasm from Addison, flung at the "Mynheer," who thought himself the "Orpheus of the age." But the great essayist had also his shaft to fling at the opera audiences of Queen Anne's time. "Our great grandchildren," he says, "will be very curious to know the reason why their forefathers used to sit together like an audience of foreigners in their own country, and to hear whole plays acted before them in a tongue which they could not understand." The great grandchildren understand the matter even better than Addison did; and so, no doubt, will the future historian,

concerning whom the same writer remarks: "I cannot forbear thinking how naturally an historian who writes two or three hundred years hence, and does not know the taste of his wise forefathers, will make the following reflection:—'In the beginning of the 18th century the Italian tongue was so well understood in England, that operas were acted on the public stage in that language.'"

Half of the extreme period above named has since passed away, and when the other half has gone by, it may be confidently predicted that the historian will entertain no such measure of surprise as is here indicated.

Vanbrugh thought Queen Anne's opera-going subjects would not require novelty. They both required and obtained it. 'Antiochus' challenged the ears of the town after 'Rinaldo,' and then came Zeno and Gasparini's 'Hamlet,' or 'Ambleto,' as it is cacophonically rendered in Italian, the overture of which had "four movements ending in a jig!" 'Macbeth' has been converted into both opera and ballet. In the latter instance, the disloyal thane interpreted "Is this a dagger which I see before me?" in a *pas-seul*; and he and his lady gave the after-scene of the murder in a terrific and half-jubilant *pas de deux*. Verdi has struggled in another way with the man of doom; but Hamlet, after an overture ending with a jig, must have found greater difficulty in converting "To be, or not to be," into a vocal solo.

Basta! To what different subjects do the next two letters bring us!

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"WINDSOR CASTLE: August 1, 1708.

"I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 6th July. You have had the goodness to give yourself more trouble in my small affairs than I thought

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it possible for a man to do, and are more particular and exact than ever I met with anybody in my life. I wish I may have an opportunity of returning the favours I have received from you; for indeed I have a very good will to do so, but for my ability I can't very much. I desire your Lordship will be pleased to give directions for to have made the quantity of damasks and velvets that I have put down, in English measure — of the green damask, 1,300 yards; yellow damask, 600 yards; crimson damask, 600 yards; scarlet plain velvet, 200 yards; plain blue velvet, 200 yards; scarlet damask, the same colour as the velvet, 100 yards; scarlet satin, 200 yards; blue satin, same colour as the velvet, 100 yards; blue damask, same colour as the velvet, 200 yards. Your Lordship says scarlet is the more difficult colour, and seems to think they do not dye that so well as we do, for I think that you sent me was the most beautiful colour I ever saw, and I like it better for a bed than crimson, being less common as well as much handsomer. As to the breadths of the velvet, I would not have them put out of their way, for the small breadths will do very well, and the damasks must be according to the patterns you send, because I have my measure by them. Notwithstanding all this that I have troubled your Lordship with, I believe I shall be forced to trouble you again for a vast deal I shall want to furnish that house, for you are so good I can go to none else, and 'tis the common way of the world to consider one's self in the first place, so you will not wonder at me having drawn this trouble on yourself. The figured velvets of general colours are not much liked, though in the fashion; but I should like mightily scarlet figured velvet without any mixture of colours, and blue and green the same; and when your Lordship has the opportunity, I should be glad to see a pattern of them; but of that there is no haste; and when any part of them are done, I know your Lordship has con-

sidered all these matters so well you will order them and see them sent when you find a good opportunity. I will not trouble you with any design for the damasks, for nothing can be better than what you send. I return two bits of velvets I like, in case of a mistake. I would do the same of the damasks, but have them not here; but having bespoke all three, I hope they will remember what they send. It would but add to the length of this to make apologies, so therefore I will conclude. I am, with the greatest respect and esteem imaginable, your faithful humble servant,

“S. MARLBOROUGH.”

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

“VENICE: Sept. 14.

“MADAM,—I have the honour of your Grace's, with your directions, as also the last with the patterns, and shall take care of every particular as much as I can get done by the time; they shall come with my equipage, so that your Grace shall have no trouble till they arrive at the custom-house, and I will contrive so that the remainder of what you have directed shall come safe.

“Things of value, considering the accidents and the insurance at sea, come much cheaper by land, and the commerce the Dutch have here is carried on in that manner, and seldom appears in any of their ships. I was sensible your Grace would have occasion of great quantity for Blenheim, and was convinced it was my good fortune to be able to serve you in that particular better than any one could. I am sorry I was not sooner of that opinion, for I had, until I saw the contrary, the same notion it would be better done at Genoa. I intend to settle the price of all sort of velvets, damasks, and satins, and shall bring with me several patterns of various colours, so that your Grace will know exactly what they will cost, and may depend what you order will be punctually observed, and that better cannot be

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made, nor cheaper. I find you approve of the scarlet and blue which I sent: it is a general notion that scarlet is better in England—what is making for your Grace is of the same colours, but much more beautiful. I must now beg leave to return your Grace my most utmost acknowledgements for the kind acceptance of the little service I can do you, and I have my end if I can obtain by this means the continuation of your good opinion, which I do much desire. As for other matters, I have always been of a temper to let it take its fate, and though I have been in very considerable posts, yet I have always endeavoured to discharge them with honour and integrity, without regard to the particular and private interests of my family. It may not always be the way of the world, but I can never do otherwise. I do not say but it is a happiness when both meet; and I shall esteem it a great honour to be employed by her Majesty when her service will admit of it. In the meantime, Mr. Vanbrugh has built me a house since I came away: my thoughts and time are on furnishing and finishing. I have such obligations to my Lord Treasurer, and have received so many proofs of his friendship, that while I live I shall ever have a sense of it, though I am sensible it can never be in my power to give those demonstrations I wish I could and ought. I have often the honour to hear from the Duke of Marlborough. We may soon hear of another action. I am, &c., “M.”

With some more last words to Lord Sunderland, in the next two letters, and a friendly “bon voyage” from Marlborough in the third, this correspondence closes.

LORD MANCHESTER TO THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

“VENICE: Sept. 21, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I have enclosed to your Lordship what I said at my audience. I found the doge had power

to grant it immediately, so that the men were released that day. As to the changing the cloth, they do make a rigorous prosecution, and if it has been without the knowledge of some of the great ones, it will be discovered, and examples made. Brown, that has brought me by his roguery into all this trouble, is at the bottom of this also, having bribed the officers to get the fine cloth and put this in the room of it: he is now in England, and is expected here again, which, if he does, he may repent it. To-morrow I take my audience of leave. Our fleet is gone to Minorca, and Mr. Stanhope, with 1,500 foot, is to join them. I know your Lordship has all the advices much sooner, so that I shall only trust the trouble I have often given you will be soon at an end, and I shall have an opportunity of assuring your Lordship myself that I am, &c.,

“M.”

LORD MANCHESTER TO LORD SUNDERLAND.

“VENICE: Oct. 5, 1708.

“MY LORD,—I now send your Lordship the conclusion of all matters here, and next week I shall set out for Holland, making my way by Hanover, where I hope I shall find the Elector returned from the army. I am very glad to leave them here in the manner I have done. The Inquisitor Nuggini is turned out of the senate and made Podesta of Padua, which is a very great disgrace after the figure he has made in the republic. This shows plainly he did order my boat to be attacked. There are several considerable men left out of the senate also, such as were most hot against the satisfaction I demanded. They seem to be vigorous in the examination of the changing of them; in short, I have acted so as to prevent the pretended malice against me some of them had, and do leave this place much to my honour. They have now elected a sort of a council of trade; and it may be, when they see their state ruined

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by the measures they have taken, they may possibly change them. I have already acquainted your Lordship that Mr. Cole must have a credential letter to present to the college, which I desire you will order to be despatched. I hope he will act to your Lordship's satisfaction: I am sure it's his intention. I am, &c.,
"M."

LORD MARLBOROUGH TO LORD MANCHESTER.

"ALOST: Nov. 30, 1708.

"MY LORD,—I was glad to see by your last letter you were come safe to the Hague, after a tedious winter journey, and should have been no less so to have met you in Holland; but our campaign is like to last too long. Mr. Darrel will have informed you how, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, and their boasting to starve us on the other side of the Scheldt, we have forced our passage, and obliged the Elector to raise the siege of Brussels very shamefully. I wish your Lordship a good voyage, and am, with much truth, your Lordship's humble servant,

"MARLBOROUGH."

Among the documents prepared to be laid before Queen Anne, but which she did not survive to read, or on which no action was taken, one at least, which is among the papers at Kimbolton, was submitted to her successor. Of this the following is a copy. It relates to our old English possessions in North America, and will be read with interest now, so marked are the contrasts that may be drawn between the conditions of the places as explained below, and those in which, after so many changes, they at the present moment find themselves. At the beginning of the last century the French were firmly, and, to our few settlers, annoyingly, planted in the North, holding possessions which have long since been won from, or been ceded by, them, excepting the Grande and Petite Miquellon, and St. Pierre.

Nova Scotia, so named by the adventurous Scot, Alexander, who left the English Court in 1622, to found a colony there, had at the beginning of the eighteenth century progressed so slowly, that only two or three English families resided there, not enough to be the basis of a civil government. King James I., however, contrived to profit by the place in a curious manner. He had already, in 1611, invented an hereditary order of knighthood, the members of which were styled baronets. Dignity was given to this new nobility by the name of the first man who was elevated to the rank—no other than Sir Nicholas Bacon, who, doubtless, possessed the pecuniary, civil, and moral qualifications, without which a courtier could not be raised to the title of hereditary “Sir;” that is to say, by birth and behaviour he must be a gentleman, and be worth at least 1,000*l.* per annum.

Eight years later, James created Sir Francis Blundell first of the new order of Baronets of Ulster—every nominee to which order was required to pay into the exchequer as much money, by way of fee, as would maintain thirty soldiers for three years, at 8*d.* per day, in the province of Ulster.

And now, only three years after the grant to Sir William Alexander, James projected the new order of Baronets of Nova Scotia; but the rank was in fact created by Charles I., in order to encourage the plantation and cultivation of the province so named. The first baronet was Sir Robert Gordon. The lineal inheritors of the first baronets still wear the orange riband with the badge, bearing the motto of “*Fax mentis honestæ gloria.*” But since the Union, that period which we have passed in this record, the separate orders have been superseded by one general institution of Baronets of the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile, the following document will show what little effect the creation of the order had on the planting

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and cultivating of the soil. The French had done better there than ourselves; and the circumstance of their intermarriages with the Indians, and the account to which such marriages were turned, are singular and noteworthy.

The reference to the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, as regarded Nova Scotia, and particularly the French settlers there, is also remarkable. That treaty not only terminated the wars of Queen Anne, secured our Protestant succession, separated for ever the crowns of France and Spain, and destroyed the fortifications of Dunkirk, but made especial provision for the enlargement of the British colonies and possessions in America.

The remarks on the propriety of removing the French colonists, who do not appear to have kept faith with the government—led, subsequently, to that step which furnished Longfellow with the subject of his poem, ‘*Evangeline*.’

TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—In obedience to your Majesty’s commands, we have prepared the following state of your Majesty’s plantations on the continent of America, wherein we have distinguished their respective situations, governments, strength and trade, and have observed of what importance their commerce is to Great Britain; whereunto having added an account of the French settlements, and of the encroachments they have made on your Majesty’s colonys in those parts, we have humbly proposed such methods as may best prevent the increase of an evil which, if not timely prevented, may prove destructive to your Majesty’s interests; and have likewise offered such consideration as, in our opinion, may contribute to the improving and enlarging of your Majesty’s dominions in America.

“Your Majesty’s plantations on the continent of America, beginning from the north, are, Nova Scotia,

New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. And although Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay be both of them part of your Majesty's territories in North America, yet neither of them being a colony under civil government, or lying contiguous to your Majesty's other plantations on this continent, we have made no mention of them in this representation.

“Nova Scotia, as appears by the patent granted by your Majesty's royal predecessor, King James I., to Sir William Alexander (afterwards created Earl of Stirling), bearing date the 10th day of September, 1621, contains all the lands and islands lying within the promontory commonly called Cape Sable, being in 43° of N. latitude or thereabout, thence westerly to the bay commonly called St. Mary's Bay, and from thence northerly in a strait line, by the mouth of that great bay which runs easterly up the country to the river St. Croix, thence westerly to the head of that river, thence northerly to the next bay which discharges itself in the River of St. Lawrence, thence easterly along the coast to the Bay of Gaspe, thence south-easterly to the Baccaleo Islands or Cape Breton, and, leaving that island on the right, and the Gulph of St. Lawrence and Newfoundland, and the isles thereto belonging, on the left, thence to Cape Breton in the latitude of 45° or thereabouts, thence south-west to Cape Sable again.

“We have made use of this ancient chart for fixing the boundaries of Nova Scotia, because the French are daily setting up new pretensions to a very great part of this province, although the 12 articles of the treaty concluded at Utrecht expressly provide that Nova Scotia shall be given up with its antient boundaries, and nothing is excepted out of this cession but Cape Breton, and the other islands lying in the mouth of the River of St. Lawrence and Gulph of this same name.

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“The government of this province, both civil and military, is entirely in your Majesty; but as there are hitherto only two or three English families settled here besides the garrison of Annapolis, there is very little room for the exercise of civil government, neither has your Majesty any revenue in this country, the lands not being yet peopled and granted out upon quit rents as in other colonies. There are two towns in this province besides Annapolis—Minas and Shejancktoo—both settled by French inhabitants, about 2,500 persons in number, who have remained there ever since the cession of this country to her late Majesty, but are entirely in the French interests, and by their communication and intermarriages with the neighbouring Indians, have gained them to their party, whereby they are enabled upon any occasion to engage with the Indians in a war against your Majesty’s subjects; and by some late accounts from Nova Scotia, there is too much reason to believe that they do at this present juncture use their endeavours to instigate the Indians against the garrison of Annapolis, and other your Majesty’s subjects, fishing upon the coast of Nova Scotia.

“The little trade driven in this country at present is entirely in the hands of these French inhabitants: it consists chiefly of fish, which is more plentiful here than on any other coast of America: they have likewise some furs and cattle. But whatever merchandise the French inhabitants have to dispose of is transported by them either to Cape Breton, Quebec, or directly to France, which is to the prejudice of Great Britain; for which reason, as well as many others, it is absolutely necessary for your Majesty’s service that these French inhabitants should be removed, for it is not to be expected that they will ever become good subjects to your Majesty, and there is all the reason in the world to apprehend that, upon any rupture between the two crowns, they may openly declare in favour of France.

“It was provided by the Treaty of Utrecht that the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia should have a year allowed them to remove from thence, with their effects, but they have long since lapsed the time; and such as remained beyond it are, by the first treaty, to become subjects to her late Majesty; but these people, being influenced by their priests, have hitherto unanimously refused to take the oaths of allegiance to your Majesty, without an exception in favour of France, which would render the engagements to your Majesty entirely ineffectual. But as we foresaw that difficulties were likely to arise upon this subject, so in the instructions which we prepared for Col. Philips, your Majesty’s governor of this province, a provision was made for this case, and he is enjoined to prohibit the French inhabitants, refusing to take the oaths, the liberty of fishing on the coast, and to prevent their removing their effects, till your Majesty’s further pleasure shall be known; and, considering their behaviour, we are of opinion it will be for your Majesty’s service that they should be ordered to quit the province. But as to their effects, in regard of the friendship subsisting between the two nations, provided the French inhabitants do leave their immovable effects, such as barns and dwelling-houses, in good condition, we should humbly conceive they might, by your Majesty’s special grace, be allowed to carry off to such places as they shall think most convenient, all their moveables.

“Upon their removal this province will become almost entirely unpeopled; and as it is the northern frontier to your Majesty’s colonies, we think it is of the highest consequence that the same should be settled as soon as possible, for which reason we would humbly propose to your Majesty the sending of four regiments there; and, although we are sensible of the expense this would occasion for some time to Great Britain, yet we believe the same will not be thought unreasonable, considering

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the inclination the French have shown to encroach upon your Majesty's territories in these parts; the great strength they have at Cape Breton, in the neighbourhood of this province, which will be increased by the removal of the French inhabitants from Nova Scotia.

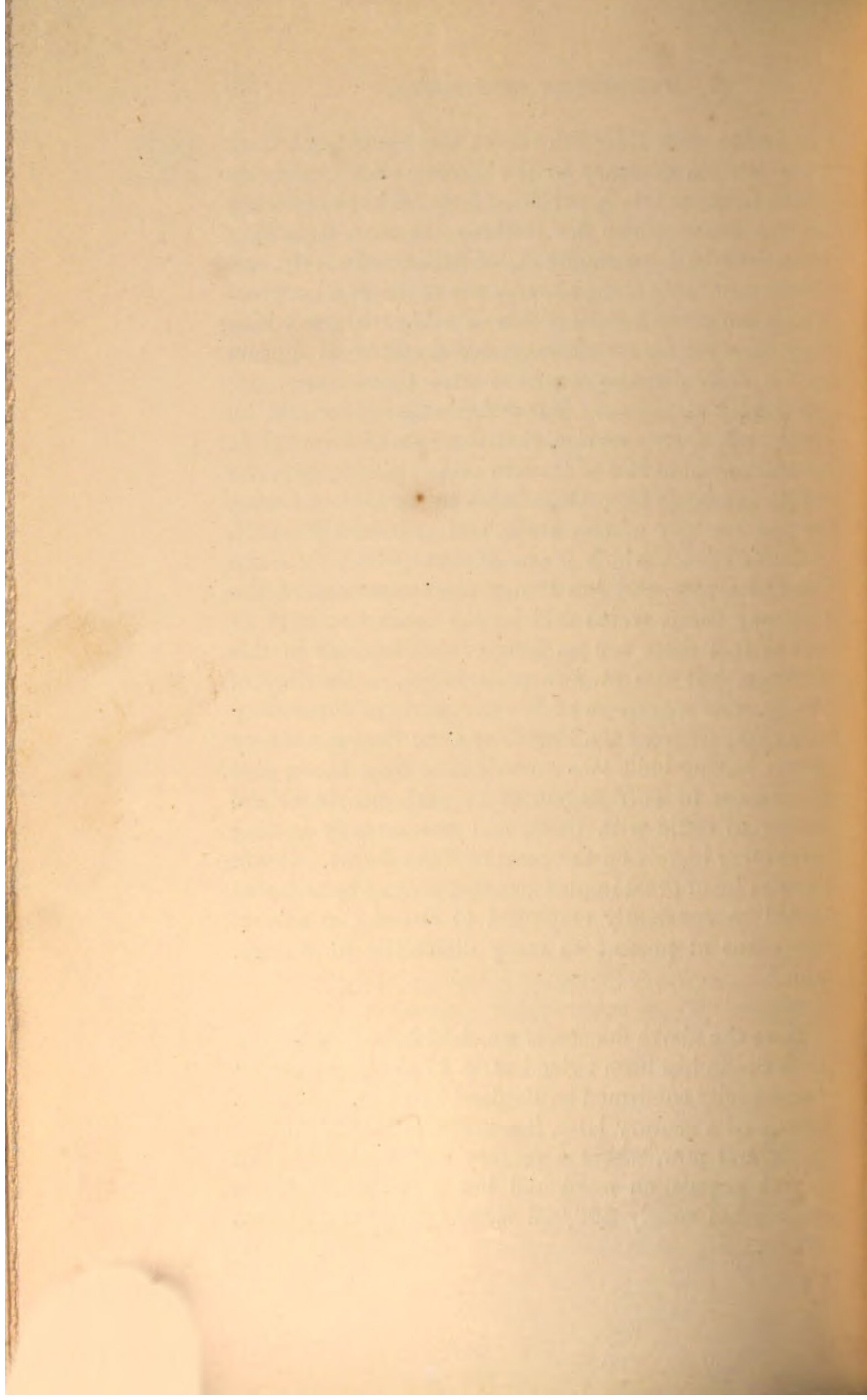
"We are likewise of opinion that all due encouragement should be given to such of your Majesty's subjects as shall be willing to settle in this province, and that your Majesty's governor may be enabled to pursue his instructions upon this head, we take the liberty to lay before your Majesty the necessity there is that your Majesty's Surveyor-General of the Woods should be forthwith ordered to repair to Nova Scotia, there to set apart 200,000 acres in certain tracts of land, contiguous to the sea-coast, or navigable rivers proper for producing of masts and other timber for the service of your Majesty's royal navy; for, after this shall be done, and not before that, the governor is empowered by his instructions to make grants of land in small parcels of quit rent, assessed to your Majesty, of one shilling, or of three pounds of hemp for the service of your royal navy, for every fifty tons.

"If this country was well settled, it would be capable of a very extensive trade. There are to be had as good masts as any in all America, in great plenty. Pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine, may be made in all parts of the country; and hemp and flax might be raised there without great expense. To which, in our opinion, all due encouragement should be given, that Great Britain may, in time, become independent of her northern neighbours for naval stores.

"But the branch of trade in this country which seems most capable of immediate improvement, is that of the fishery upon the coast, from Cape Sable to the Gulf of Canso, which is perhaps more valuable than any other in America. But, for want of protection against the Indians inhabiting Nova Scotia, who are entirely in the French interest, few British vessels dare

venture to cure their fish there; and the French from Cape Breton, contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht (by which they are totally excluded from all kind of fishing on the coasts which lie towards the east, beginning from the island commonly called Salles, inclusively, and thence stretching along towards the south-west), engross almost the entire benefit of this valuable trade, to which they have set up an unreasonable pretence, as appears by the daily disputes we have with them, concerning the fishery at C——. For which reason it would be for your Majesty's service, that some small forts might be built, without loss of time, in proper places, upon the coast, on islands from Cape Salles to the Gut of Canso, for the security of this trade, and particularly on St. George's Island, which is one of those which form the Cape of Canso, and has the greatest command of the little bay there, which will be the more necessary in regard that there are no forts or fortifications in this province, but one at Annapolis Bogal, in the Bay of Fundy, with a garrison of five companys of about forty men each; whereas the French at Cape Breton are very strong, having built two considerable forts there, give all manner of encouragement to such people as are willing to settle with them, and are actually settling some other islands on the coast of Nova Scotia. It will likewise be of great importance that a small man-of-war should be constantly employed to attend this colony, which has at present so many difficulties to struggle with."

Since the above document was laid before George I., Nova Scotia has been twice lost, in 1745 and 1758, but it was finally confirmed to England in 1760. About a quarter of a century later, it was divided into two provinces, and now, where a century and a half ago the English population numbered but a few families, are congregated nearly 300,000 faithful subjects of Great Britain.



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